That is nothing. That man is far down below in the deep water with 775
his ranga, with his wongar and his old marikmo."

The soul of the dead (bir-im-bir) then returns to its totem and the totem lives in the sacred narra well. This is true for both men and women.

A Warumeri clansman was unconscious and near death. The relatives sang the garma sea-way (a cycle of songs about the sea and those totems which are connected with it). While they sang, it was thought, the spirit of marikmo was listening to the song. They then sang crayfish, which is a Warumeri totem. The hand of the dying one moved convulsively like a crayfish. They sang whale, also the clan's totem, and the person dying kicked in imitation of a whale. This meant he was going to die, and he was telling his people. He wanted them to sing his song, it was believed, so that his marikmo and old gatu (father's father's father) would know and come to him. 763 533

The dying one stiffened and was quiet. He was dead according to tribal thought, although his heart beat. "I see that go," one relative said about the heart of the dying man, "and I knew he was dead, but that his marikmo was looking out for him. I could see that because that old man marikmo moved inside his heart. He was taking that spirit back to the Warumeri well." 763

After death and before the burial ceremony, the symbol of the narra well of the deceased is painted on his chest and abdomen—in this instance, the wild duck well. This is done in order that all the dead of the well can see the one who has just died and take him immediately away to his water hole. 764

When, during the Djungguan ceremony for the great snake, Yurlunggur, and during the Narra ceremony for the other totemic emblems, a ranga is made, not only does the totem or the totem's essence enter into it through the singing of the men, but also the birimbir spirits of the dead ancestors—illustrating the close association of the clan members with their totems and dead ancestors. 776 778

The mythological ancestors who are in the well and who had some part in its formation are called old marikmo or old gatu. Their names express clearly the affiliation of the mythical men to the narra well and to the totem.

The names of the wells, as will be seen by examining the list of those belonging to the clans, pages 39-51, show the same totemic affiliation either directly or indirectly. Like the names of the mythological ancestors, they are of two types, the sacred and the camp variety. 778 103

755 supposed to allow the water to come through. The holes are filled with leaves and grass. A shell full of water (E) is placed at the head end of the larger circle and a rock (F) is placed in the channel. This represents a rock found in the actual well and the fresh water which comes out of the spring. The sick man is placed in the larger circle which is the totem well. The male members of the clan gather about it and [533] sing the garma song, which particularly describes some activity surrounding the clan well and identifies the clan as a separate unit or part of the moiety. If a Dua man were ill, the members would sing the two old creator women, who, on coming back from hunting food, found their totemic emblems had been stolen by the men. The names of the women, references to the types of totems, and the shouts of the men who had stolen the emblems would be part of the song sequence. Red ocher is then sung by the chorus while a man is preparing some red ocher on the stone found in the smaller circle, and water is poured over the patient. The red ocher is then rubbed all over the body of the sick man. When this operation is completed the singing stops and the ceremony is over.

The Relation of a Prophylactic Ritual to Healing Magic

751 The relation of this ritual to the art of curing by magic is the same 755 as the relation between preventive medicine and ordinary doctoring in our society. In modern society, preventive medicine recognizes the fundamental causes of disease and tries to prevent their being present and active in a community so that none of the members can be made ill by them; therapeutic medicine becomes active if preventive medicine fails. The disease by this time has struck certain members of the community; the cause must be removed, but by different techniques—different not in kind, but only in degree. Both are scientific methods and both combat certain types of diseases which fit into certain scientific concepts and classifications.

The prophylactic totemic ritual averts illness from anyone who participates in it and from the group generally; on the contrary, anyone who does not participate in it will be ill. Illness and general [783] dysphoria are prevented by removing the accumulated ritualistic uncleanliness through the totemic rites of purification. During the year certain people become ritualistically unclean by breaking certain taboos and by a lax observance of the tribal laws. Magic and ritual cleanse them and the society generally.

It has been pointed out above that the source of ritual power which

852 574 431 presents, such as spears, hair belts, spear-throwers, and other valued articles, to the boy. Most of these things are later presented to the father, older brothers, gawel, and mari. If the boy were not treated liberally his clan would be offended, and it might lead to an open feud; but the people in the clans visited are always generous and such cause for a feud is never given. While the boy is away the women gather yams, lily bulbs, and other vegetable food to prepare for their guests. Many of the visitors come with the boy when he returns, while others precede him to participate in the preliminary ceremonies.

852 3. When the neophyte arrives in camp, or frequently before he comes back, the Warn-gai-tja is erected in the center of the main camp where all the people live. Two poles about six feet long are cut from trees (of any variety) in the old men's ground and tied together. A bunch of leaves is tied to the top of each pole. If three boys are to be initiated, three poles are cut and tied together; if only one boy is to be circumcised, only one pole. Grass is strewn on the ground around the foot of the pole. The sticks are Dua and the leaves are Yiritja.

852 361 The general camp of both the men and women is called Wonga. In the center of it, or sometimes at the side of this ground if better suited for dancing, is the general dance ground. The warngaitja is located in the center of the dance floor. It is here that men and women dance. This is the only part of the ceremonial ground to which women and uncircumcised boys have access. It is sometimes called Wakinu Wonga, which can be translated as "the camp of those who do not belong," and is used in a contemptuous sense (see pages 110-113).

852 533 The men bring the warngaitja into the main camp from the men's ground. They carry their spears pointing downward and beat time against the shafts with their spear-throwers. They sing meanwhile:

"War-li-mar-la din-ya
War-li-mar-la din-ya
(Dua sticks of the warngaitja)
Warn-gai-tja ngu-lai-ngu-lai
Warn-gai-tja ngu-lai-ngu-lai"
(Yiritja leaves of the warngaitja)

The following songs are also sung:

(1) Stone spear
(2) Camp made by Wawilak Sisters in the Garl-ban-uk country (Gun-al-pia)

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937

OI 17 Murngin OI 17

852 (3) Bamboo spear with stone head (Gun-na-mar-mar)

533 (4) Women and boys (Mielk koon-di Djer-ku-li)

(5) Fat of the kangaroo mixed with red ocher to paint the boy's face (Ri-djil-gur-o)

(6) The taboo name for the warngaitja (Ngur-mir-go-nor-mi-a)

During the singing and dancing the warngaitja is carried in the center of the group of men.

[535] The women meet them and, while the men stand in a compact circle, they dance around them waving branches. The pole is taken to various parts of the camp and the men form circles around it and sing the above cycle of songs while the women dance around them. Finally a permanent place in the center of the main camp is selected, and after singing once more over the warngaitja, it is placed upright on the ground and left there until the end of the Djungguan ceremony.

852 361 When a Djungguan is being celebrated a Murngin camp is divided into several geographical divisions. These territorial divisions are based on the age-grade groupings which are discussed in Chapter IV. The geographical divisions are (1) the general camp, (2) the men's ground, (3) the old men's camp and totem house, (4) the "totem well," or temporary dwelling place of the totemic emblem for one portion of the ceremony, and (5) the snake dance ground.

The territorial division clearly objectifies the grading in the men's association and the differentiation from women: the old men's camp, the holy of holies for the few; the dance ground for the circumcised, which includes the greater part of the young men; and the main camp for the uncircumcised and the women.

778 The men's ground is called Djungguan Wonga (camp). It is also called Ma-rai-in Wonga. Maraiin is a general word meaning, as nearly as it can be translated, powerful, sacred, taboo, or spiritual. It is used to describe anything that is taboo to the women and uninitiated boys. It is not necessarily taboo to everyone in the tribe. Totemic emblems, ceremonial grounds which certain age grades are forbidden, "sacred" names known only to the older men, and certain designs are among the things that are considered maraiin by the Murngin.

A quality possessed by a thing that is maraiin is dal. The literal translation of dal is "hard" and "strong," but dal means strength only in the magical sense of ritually "powerful." The maraiin wonga has a considerable amount of dal, but the old men's camp possesses a concentrated portion of this magical strength. The old men's part of the

852 moiety." This division refers to the dance ground and not to Yurlunggur, who was Dua. B is the snake's anus; D is the head where the initiates stand, both in the circumcision part of the ceremony and also in that portion devoted to showing and explaining the totemic emblem to the older initiates.

The circle E is the special house for Yurlunggur erected on the first day of the ceremony and is a windbreak about four feet high and fifteen feet across. The dancers who paint themselves as iguanas in the totem scene ceremony hide there while the earlier part of the Djungguan is taking place.

[533 778] When the Yurlunggur dance ground is made, a cycle of songs is sung over the man who gives his blood to the ceremony (see page 274) by the old men. This makes the ground maraiin because it now possesses the essence of Yurlunggur.

Native Interpretation.—The warngaitja is symbolical of the two boys 773 who are being circumcised. "The sticks are all the same as the boys 852 being cut. The bushes on top are all the same as the hair of those boys." I was told each time I heard the Wawilak myth that when "the little sister sang inside the house, the older sister danced around the house just the same as women do now around the warngaitja pole in the Djungguan." When new groups arrive at the Djungguan ceremony, the ritual is being started, and they dance around the warngaitja singing "A-wa!—a-wa!" it is the sound of flood water flowing or of rain falling: "They do that because those two old women did that when [887 they tried to stop the rain." In the Djungguan ceremony older women ordinarily do the dancing and wailing. "No young women, only old 562] women do this. Old women are better for the boys—it helps them more. Those old women when they dance are all the same as those Wongar women."

B. The Dancing Each Evening Around the Warngaitja. The Initiates Are Carried into the Men's Ground 852

1. The women wail over the neophytes while dancing around the warngaitja pole (or poles); the men rush in and remove the boys to their own grounds.
2. The circle of men around the fire and the sequence of songs and dances.

1. Until the last day of the ceremony dances in the Djungguan are not held during the day except occasionally in the early morning. But

when the sun sinks and dusk first appears the boys' maris (mothers' mothers), yeppas (sisters), and arndis (mothers) start wailing for him because they are going "to lose him forever." (Once the initiate is taken from the women, even before he makes his journey, he is not allowed to return to them but is kept entirely in the charge of some of the men.) 852

The women then dance with bent knees around the central pole, with their slow, shuffling rhythm, waving bunches of leaves in each hand. The men meanwhile pick the initiates up and gather in a group outside the general camp behind a clump of bushes. [535]

When the boys are first taken from the women, and each evening during the opening part of the ceremony, they are carried on the men's shoulders in the same position that babies are carried by their mothers and fathers.

The men beat their spears with their spear-throwers and sing: 852

"Djer-ma-kun-di,[12] mielk-kun-di." 533
(Uncircumcised boys, women)

The men rush out and surround the pole in a solid mass. The women sing a song which, freely translated, means, "We give you men this boy child while we dance." The men then sing kangaroo fat.—This performance is repeated a number of times.

After the above ceremony has taken place on the women's ground the boys are carried upon the shoulders of the men, who go, singing, to the men's ground. The women meanwhile continue to dance around the warngaitja.

2. A fire is built a short distance from the triangular dance ground (see Figure 3, page 265). The little boys are put down within the group of men who sit in a circle around the fire.

A new cycle of songs is sung:

(1) Turkey (Wal-pa-run-go di-ma-run-a, Dua)
(2) Fresh-water turtle (Gai-yil-pur-o djel-gai-a-na, Yiritja)
(3) Young boy before circumcision (Mil-er-um-bur-u)
(4) Fish spear (Bar-nai-djer-yer, Yiritja)
(5) A tree with a red flower that emus eat (Warn-bar-ko ngu-nu-lai)
(6) Bamboo spear (Djir-ne-djir-ne gur-o-o)

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[12] Cf. dje-mer-ku-li, Age Grading, page 125. "Djer-ma-kun-di" is from the ritual language.

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533

At this period in the song cycle the following refrain is sung by all the men:

"Ah—ah—ah—!! ah—ah!
Sis ye!! Sis ye!!
Ay—Ay—Ay—!!
Kak ye!!"

(7) Wallaby (Nar-ku mar-rain-djur-a kam-dal main-djur-a)
Two men stand up and dance in imitation of kangaroos. They may be either Yiritja or Dua moiety, but the Wallaby dance is for the Burilung subclass.

[535]

(8) The rock kangaroo (par-de-par-de-min-ne burul-purul-min-e, Burilung subclass)

The following refrain is now sung:

"Bir—pir—!! Pir—pir—!!
Ah—oo!! Poo!!
Bir—pir—!! Pir—Pir—!!
Ah—oo!! Poo!!
Kak-ye—kak ye!!"

(9) Emu (Ur-tarn-gal-li-na), Yiritja
Emu head feathers (kurt-kurt-gal-li-na), Bur-lain subclass, Yiritja moiety

(10) A fresh-water fish (Gal-ngi mar-kunr-dur-na), Narit subclass, Yiritja moiety

(11) Ibis (Durn-di-tja gar-ran-gun-mi), Kaidjawk subclass, Yiritja moiety

(12) A small hawk (Kar-kar-ain-bir-na), Bang-ar-di subclass, Yiritja moiety

The refrain beginning "Bir—pir" is repeated.

(13) Carpet snake totem (Yur-lung-gur), Bal-lung, Ka-mer-dung and Wa-mut subclasses, Dua moiety

(The totemic emblem is brought in at this time. The chorus sings, "Djil-djil-la djil-djil-la [hiss of the snake].)

(14) Blood from the arm to paint the body in the Djungguan ceremony (Man-in-jul-or-un-gal), Yiritja or Dua moiety, since either can give his blood for the ceremony.

(15) A fresh-water, non-poisonous snake (Bog-min-bog-min) 852
(16) Fresh-water crayfish (Run-nar-ra-nar-ra-na), Yiritja moiety 533

The following dances take place:

(1) A small hawk (Kar-kar-kain-bur-na mal-le-wir-de-wir-de) 852
(2) Dollar bird (?) (Ko-ko-mir-ding), Dua moiety 535

Big gray kangaroo, wallaby, and rock kangaroo are also danced. This ends the ceremony for the evening, and the refrain "Wah! wah! wah!" (sound of running water) is sung.

Whenever wallaby is sung in the above cycle of songs two men stand up and dance at one side. Sometimes they are joined by several others. The men hold their hands in front of their chests with the fingers pointed downward to imitate the posture of the front legs and paws of the wallaby. They dance jumping sideways as one often sees the wallaby move when frightened. At intervals they fall flat on the ground, remain there a moment, then arise and start the dance over again.

While the chorus of men sing and the men at the side dance, one man stands by the side of the ring and calls out in a high shrill voice, "Kawk! Kawk!" This is supposed to be the call of the wedge-tailed eagle.

Native Interpretation.—"The warngaitja was put up the first time by the two Wawilak women. They cut off the stringy bark tree and put it up and tied it with bush string. Now men do this." "Those women said, 'We two sisters, we'll do this and make up this warngaitja dance and everybody will do this after us, but the ranga and maraiin will belong inside of the men's ground.'" (For further interpretation of the Warngaitja ceremony, see Section E, where the ceremony is performed for the last time.) 852 773

C. YURLUNGGUR COMES OUT

1. The older men sing Yurlunggur and his totem well and several bring out the trumpet. It is blown over the uncircumcised initiates. The older boys (those about to pass into a higher age group) hide their heads under the women's mats. 852

1. Just before the Yurlunggur song is sung (13 of the cycle in Section B), the leader of the ceremony calls out the totems of the Liaalaomir clan and of other clans which possess the same totems as this

773 852 body and it is usually thought of as having the women and children inside it. Frequently the green leaves surrounding it are said to be the women after he has spewed them up. During one of the many times I was told the story of the Wawilak women, when the narrator got to the moment in the drama when the sisters were seeking something more powerful to stop Yurlunggur and they sang menstrual blood, he interrupted himself and said, "When the dance place for the Djungguan is square and not triangular it is a camp of these women. When it is this way [triangular] it is a snake's body. At Mirrirmina you can see the holes where all the sons of Yurlunggur crawled around the two women and you can see the dance ground where the snake fell after swallowing them."

852 E. The Bloodletting

778 796
1. Yurlunggur is painted.
2. Yurlunggur is blown over the men who give their blood; the names of the ancestors are called.

304 1. All during this section of the ceremony the totemic trumpet is kept in the old men's camp or in the specially built ceremonial hut (the python's totem well). During the preliminary stages of this section Yurlunggur is painted.

852 796 304 561 2. On the day before the circumcision a bloodletting ceremony takes place in the old men's camp. The blood is to be used as an adhesive substance to hold the birds' down and native cotton to the dancers' bodies. Before a man offers his blood for the first time Yurlunggur is blown all over his body; after the first time it is unusual. This ceremony is one of the ritual methods by which a man is admitted into the higher order of the men's association. Though it is not obligatory for him to go through this rite as it is for the young boy to go through the circumcision ceremony, all of the men feel it their privilege to contribute their blood either the first time they enter the old men's grounds or at some later period. Most men, while still in their prime, give their blood every time this ceremony is held.

852 796 Here is an account of one of the many blood sacrifice rituals witnessed by the author:

304 533 The old men sing over the man, Lika. The "mouth" of Yurlunggur is placed against him and the trumpeter blows all over his body while the trumpet's notes keep time with the slow rhythm of the singing sticks of the leader.

The cycle of songs is sung in the following sequence: 852

(1) Human blood (Man-in-gul-ur-un-gul) 796
(2) Python snake totem (Yurlunggur ar-lur-la) 304
(3) Snake's hiss (Djil-djil-la) 533

852 796 304

After each song the men take turns calling out the name of some of their ancestors (usually father's father or mother's mother's brother). Sometimes only the names of the ancestors are called out, but at other times men shout: "My mother's mother's brother [mari] carries a totemic emblem on his back!!"—"My mother's mother's mother's brother makes a totemic emblem!"—"My mari has a large penis!!"—"My father's father [marikmo] has a net in his hand and is catching many fish." The old men are always described by the men who use their names as making a totemic emblem or performing some other act while a totemic emblem is being made. The names of the old men are always their totemic and taboo names. The relatives referred to may be actually living, dead, or mythological ancestors. Each man continues all the relatives' names he pleases to select and then calls out, "Bilin [I'm through]." The leader then turns to the next man and he continues the same process.

(4) The fourth song sung is earthquake shaking the ground (movement of Yurlunggur) 852 796
(5) Snake's tongue 304
(6) Dua lightning
(7) Black rain cloud (Goi-ro-ma-la) 533
(8) Rain clouds covering the sky (Warn-ba-nar-ri)

The members of each subclass are taken in order by the leader to call out the names of their ancestors as well as the names of their totemic emblems. The Ballung subclass sings first, then Kamerdung and Wamut follow. All the Yiritja subclasses follow and then the fourth Dua one. Sometimes all four of the Dua subsections are called first, then the four Yiritja. Giving the ceremony a sequence of songs that follow in order of subsections grouped according to moiety definitely integrates the subsections into the ceremonial structure. At the same time the dead and the mythological ancestors are also placed in their correct subsections and moiety.

While the singing is going on, the man's arms are tied near the wrist and shoulder with some stout cord. A stone spear head is broken and a flake of it used to make a half-inch cut in the lower arm. The

852 leader rubs the man's head with his hand while another cuts his arm.
196 The totemic emblem is blown against the wound.

The blood runs slowly, and the rhythm of the song is conducted
304 with equal slowness. In a second or two the blood spurts and runs in a
533 rapid stream. The beat of the song sung by the old men increases to follow the rhythm of the blood. The blood runs into a paper-bark basin. "When Lika gets up he'll be very quick and feel very light; and he will be very happy because that blood running out of him will make him that way."

Two men hold the trumpet for a third to play. One of them keeps his hand on the blood-giver's head, occasionally rubbing it, and then massaging the forearm. He keeps one hand or part of his body against the trumpet.

The bottom of the basin fills with blood, and pieces of paper bark are taken from a supply near at hand, broken up in little pieces, and thrown into the basin. They soak up the blood and more pours in upon them. Once more small pieces of paper bark are placed in the basin to be saturated. These pieces of bark will be used later as brushes with which to put on the blood. The giver looks down at the blood coming from his arm with a smile which expresses pride, a slight embarrassment at being the center of attention, and real pleasure. Meanwhile the leader of the ceremony continues to massage his arm. The chorus now sings stringy bark tree.

The blood runs slower and the rhythm is decreased. One of the men loosens the cord on the upper arm and it is taken off. The song and the blowing of the trumpet continue. The slowly dripping blood is stopped with a bit of bush cotton or birds' down. The blood-giver massages his arm with an upward movement. He goes over to the side of the camp and lies down. Frequently the men who give their blood faint and remain in a state of coma for an hour or more because of exhaustion.

The next man opens a hole from yesterday's giving and the blood pours forth in a stream. It runs quickly, and the rhythm of the song is at a very fast tempo. There is much smiling among the men and an occasional "main-muk, main-muk (good, good)."

A third man pulls off an old scab from his arm and the blood pours forth in a larger stream than that of the others. The trumpet continues to blow (but not over the blood-giver since he is not one who is giving for the first time).

will we do?' 'Run and get some paper bark and make a panikin out 852
of it.'" 796

"They tied up two panikins and put the blood in them and went 773
to the ceremonial grounds.

"Take all the bird feathers and we will paint ourselves. You do this 826
and I will go and cut Yurlunggur."

It is only the men's blood that is of the right quality for use in the Djungguan ceremony. Women's blood cannot be used. "Woman's and man's blood are just the same but woman's blood is no good. Wongar would not allow it to be used. He will only take men's blood." The blood is not only the menstrual blood of the women in the eyes of the old men; "That blood, that old woman's blood that ran out here [informant pointed to his pudenda], that blood is a live Wongar's blood too. He [the man who was giving the blood] does that for Wongar too. They blow that trumpet over him [the blood-giver] because the snake came out and smelled that woman's blood when she went after paper bark." These last statements were made within the totemic camp of the old men while they and I watched the young man who gave his blood for the first time.

When "Djili-djili-la" is sung after "blood" and "Yurlunggur," it, 852
in singing form, "is just the same as when the snake comes out the
first time," by which the various men who told me this meant "when 796
Yurlunggur comes out" as described in Section C. In other words, 773
these two parts of the ceremony are equivalent.—The next song, 533
"Earthquake," was interpreted: "Those two women came to that
place [Mirrirmina]. Yurlunggur smelled them and turned over and
moved the ground." Whenever an earthquake occurs in Murngin [823]
country it is always said that Bapa Indi (Yurlunggur or Muit) is moving in the subterranean waters.—When the next song, "Snake's Tongue" was sung, a leader of one of the Djungguan said, "Those two women try to stop that snake's tongue. He wanted to swallow them. That is what this means. They gave his tongue an inside [sacred] name." Another man said, "When that trumpet blows he is singing out and asking, 'Which one has got strong blood?' It is like he is choosing the man he wants. When he gets that man he plays all over him just like he was licking him. He did those two Wongar women that way before he swallowed them. This makes the man's blood come out quick and easy."—After the next song, "Dua Lightning," the leader of one of the ceremonies said, "That is the forked tongue of the snake. Storms and thunder come from him. That is

852 when he is after those two Wongar women." When "Rain Cloud"
796 was sung the leader said to me, "Those two women are trying to
773 stop that rain because it is coming like a flood and trying to cover
533 them up, it is all the same as if they were being swallowed by a snake."—"Those women are trying to sing to stop the rain but they are only making sounds" (that is, they are having no effect on the rain or snake)—also a comment when "Cloud in the Sky" was sung. —After the completion of this cycle, the leader said to me, "No man made these songs. Those two women made them to keep the two lines [Yiritja and Dua moieties] sacred—to keep marriage straight."

852 The singing of the real and mythological ancestors' names is much
796 more significant than merely recalling the names of the dead, for the
775 souls of the dead are believed to be within the totemic trumpet itself (and within Mandelprindi and Yermerlindi in the Gunabibi ceremony and Uvar in the Ulmark ceremony). "When we have Djungguan, Gunabibi and other corroborees we men tell the women when a man is dead [recently died] that he has come back because that Djungguan has been named his big name [totemic name]. All the men believe he has come back and that all the souls of the dead on that side [moiety reference] are in the ranga [totemic emblem]. If my older brother should die, next Narra or Djungguan we have, he would come back and go in that ranga. That is why we get angry when someone does a bad thing [unsanctioned sexual relation, open fighting, and the like] when we have a Narra or Djungguan. We must stop that corroboree and throw the ritual string away because our old marikmos and maris and kutaras [et cetera] get angry with us and make us sick. [842] The little babies when they are fish [unborn] live in the same place with marikmo and mari souls. That marikmo and mari watch us. If we are good, and we don't steal, or have other men's wives, he sends us fish to our wives." "You can't see that spirit when it comes back but you can see it in a dream. That man can be Yiritja or Dua. The man who has dreamed goes to the leader and says that so-and-so has come back, and that he says he has come to look at his children and to bring Yurlunggur. That leader asks the man which way the man in the dream said to make Yurlunggur for this next time, because he knows the man understands from this dream." This dream can come before or at the same time as the ceremony and the power name of the returning dead man can be given to the trumpet. Even though "spirits go to the islands of the dead,[14] or the whale takes them to the

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[14] See Myths, Barnumbir and the Island of the Dead, pages 524-528.

and makes a bull roarer (mandelprindi). The bull roarer is attached to a human hair cord on a small stick before it is ready for whirling. It is covered with human blood or red ocher and a snake design is painted on it. The Gunabibi song sequence is usually sung over it[19] to make it "strong," and often the painting is outlined with birds' down. The feathers are removed when it is whirled because they prevent the friction of wood and air which makes the characteristic booming sound. The mandelprindi is then wrapped in bark and hidden in a hollow tree or elsewhere within the men's ceremonial grounds. 852 534

2. The old men of the Liaalaomir clan and the leaders of the nearby local groups confer and decide which boys are to be initiated into the Gunabibi mysteries. Since all young men are in time inducted into the Gunabibi ritual, the only question to be decided is whether the boy is old enough. The leaders of the other clans must give their consent if they are present at the conference for the boy's initiation. 852 614

Native Interpretation.—There is little to comment upon in this first section of the Gunabibi except that all the natives say that the bull roarer is the snake itself and the initiates "are just the same as those in the Djungguan." 852 534

B. The First Ceremony in the Woman's Camp

1. The different clan garma songs are sung and the groups form into one. 852
2. Mandelprindi is whirled and the camp women and men answer its sound.
3. The initiates are taken by the two Yiritja snakes to the totemic grounds.

1. That evening, or a few evenings later, according to the whim of the leaders, the actual Gunabibi ceremony starts. The leader sends word throughout the camp where a large number of people from the nearby friendly clans are collected, and all the men, women and children gather in the main part of the camp. Each clan group sings the garma song (general camp's less sacred totemic song), that is recognized by all as belonging to that particular clan. The Djirin clan sings and dances Djirin garma songs, and the Warumeri sing and dance their garma songs. [614 533]

When this is completed the members of the various clans (men, women and children) at the order of the leader all form one large 852 533

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[19] See pages 294-295.

852 group and sing the rapid Gunabibi rhythm that is used for the gen-
● 533 eral "outside" camp.

2. Out in the nearby bush a Dua man whirls the mandelprindi.
[534] The sound is much like that of a bass viol: "Ah um um um um, ah um um um um."

The man whirling the bull roarer cannot be seen. The women and uninitiated are told that Muit, the great father, is calling out for the initiates (in the Djungguan they are told he is calling for the foreskin).

The bull roarer is whirled around the man's head from left to right as he slowly turns with it. He then stops and whirls it from right to left. This is continued for as long a period as the man has strength and feels inclined.

At each pause in the sound of the bull roarer caused by the change in the direction of the whirling, the leader of the camp calls out in a high, shrill, falsetto voice:

"Ah! Yai! ah! Yai! ah! Yai!"

This is in a very quick tempo. The moment he stops, the women answer in high soprano voices:

"Le le le le le le le."

This creates a pattern of musical sound: mandelprindi (bass viol tone and rhythm), male leader's voice, and female chorus.

Sometimes the leader and the bull roarer cry out at the same time. Sometimes two Yiritja water snakes answer instead of the leader. This continues for a quarter of an hour, and sometimes much longer. By this time the women may be in their camps, still chorusing, and the group of men sitting down while smoking and talking.

852 3. The two Yiritja moiety men who are looked upon as Yiritja water snakes and who have been designated as messengers leave the main camp and go out into the men's ceremonial grounds, where they are supposed to stay until the end of the ceremony, except when they appear
[292] for ceremonial purposes at the main camp. Both wear white forehead bands, as do most of the men in the Gunabibi. With them go the boys who are to be initiated. The Yiritja messengers act as guards for the initiates, and also serve as instructors. The boys are not supposed to return to the main camp where the women are until the Gunabibi ceremony is over. They often do come back to the camp if the ceremony lasts longer than a few months, or if there is fear of night attack; but theoretically they must remain away from the women's

535 On his head is a high painted headdress ("dunce cap") made of
535 ti tree bark, topped with a bunch of native companion's feathers. The
852 bark is covered with red ocher. The body of the dancer is completely
292 coated with human blood, and the body from the waist up, as well
302 as the arms and the shoulders, is covered with perpendicular parallel lines of birds' down, and bunches of leaves are attached to the upper arm. The face may have two horizontal lines running from ear to ear above and below the eye, with one additional line that crosses the face at the chin.

The dancer advances with slow deliberate rhythm in a zigzag course
852 as though he had heavy weights attached to his feet. As he changes
535 his course and his flight across the field, he squats and shakes his shoulders, which makes the leaves on his arms quiver like the feathers of a bird. He kneels and faces the chorus. The leader and men surround him, knock off his headgear and rub his back to rub off some of the birds' down that has been glued on it, and the leader sings, "Gunabibi! Gunabibi!" in a voice which is impressively dramatic and sounds much like a modern priest chanting a prayer. ("Gunabibi" is one of the names used for Muit and Yurlunggur.)

2. The dancing stops. A man comes out with a bull roarer and
852 whirls it. In camp the women answer in a trilling high soprano.

533 3. The bull roarer is put away, and the chorus and leader sit down in a circle and sing mandelprindi. A few men stand up and move back and forth behind the others. They have their stone spears attached to their spear-throwers. They are supposed to be fighting men. The leader stands in front of all. The following song sequence, the heart of the Gunabibi ceremony and often repeated, is gone through for the first time.

Sea gull	male, female, and eggs
A small snake (bolokmi)	male, female, and eggs
Native companion	male, female, and eggs
Small rock python (wirtit)	male, female, and eggs
Muit (python totemic spirit)	male, female, and eggs
Small fresh-water snake	male, female, and eggs
Sea gulls	male, female, and eggs
A small snake (bolokmi)	male, female, and eggs
Sea eagle (dimala)	male, female, and eggs
Rock python (Wirtit)	male, female, and eggs

Muit (python totemic spirit)	male, female, and eggs	852
Four Muits[10]	male, female, and eggs	533

The song sequence may be changed and some of the animals or birds left out, but the cycle is more or less constant in order and number. When all the songs of the sequence are finished, the men go back to the main camp and eat the morning meal. The usual round of daily activities is continued until evening. Just at dusk the men again leave for the ceremonial grounds and go through the same ceremony as in the morning. Sea gull, and possibly other animals, have been danced the day before. The animal dance may be still bolokmi (small snake), or dimala (sea eagle) may now be in progress.

Each day one or two animals, sometimes more, are danced and sung in the same manner as the sea gull on the first day. The animals are taken in the order of their appearance in the song sequence, that is, following sea gull and bolokmi would come native companion, and so on, through large palm tree and Muit.

The males of the species are all danced first; when the complete list of this sex has been danced, all the females are taken in turn; and finally, both males and females. When birds are danced, as well as any egg-laying animal, the eggs appear in the last round of the song and dance cycle. After this has been completed, four pythons, two males and two females, are danced. They are coiled up, and supposed to be copulating. Following them, four native companions appear and go through the same performance, and finally four Muits are danced.

When the males or females dance by themselves, here and in later sections of the ceremony, they represent unmated animals.

The men return to the main camp and have their evening meal. It is eaten just after dark. An hour or so later they return to the ceremonial place and the Gunabibi ceremony is continued. 852

They all sit down in a circle around the fire and sing:

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533

(1) Dua country
(2) Mandelprindi
(3) Human blood for the Gunabibi ceremony

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[10] The division of each of the things danced, on the basis of male, female, and eggs, clearly demonstrates the Murngin way of thinking about sex and fertility, and also organizes these species in their minds on the basis of family pattern. A number of dances—such as Muit's, for example—are repeated, either because of the great importance attached to the totem itself, or because of the satisfaction the dance gives the native.—Usually certain plants, e.g., palm trees, are also danced.

852 (4) A small Dua bird
533 (5) Male opossum
(6) Female opossum
(7) Fire
(8) Male and female opossums

852 535 4. Dancers then come out grunting in imitation of the opossums. They have bark penises sticking erect from their belts. Some men without these appendages are female opossums. They may or may not simulate copulation.

After dancing for some few moments, the opossums bow before the chorus on their hands and knees, and the leader sings, "Gunabibi, Gunabibi!" The leader rubs each dancer's back with his hand.

The bark penises are removed and the dance is over. The python ritual is sung again. The opossums, a small kangaroo (Yiritja moiety), fire, and mandelprindi are also sung. This completes the day's ceremony. The two ritual periods—morning and evening—occur every day throughout the ceremony.

When the new moon (narlindi yurta) appears, this section of the ceremony is completed, and the next morning the men dance the last element of the sequence.

852 533 535 173 *Native Interpretation.*—The animals sung or danced are supposed to be those seen by the Wawilak women on their way north from the interior. They all belong to various clans and totem wells found specifically on the women's route and generally throughout the western and southern part of the Murngin tribe. (The totems in the east tend to center around the Djunkgao myth rather than the Wawilak.) —"Those two sisters named all those animals. As they went they said, 'By and by you will be maraiin.'" Some of the animals and plants danced, though they have totemic significance, do not have totemic emblems; but in a sense the dance itself serves to make them for the moment a totem, and the dance becomes a totemic expression, since the bodies of the dancers and maraiin express the totemic essence in the same way a totemic emblem does.

The bull roarer here, as before, is the voice of the snake, and when the women of the camp trill their answer they are the two old Wawilak sisters calling out to Yurlunggur.

852 535 173 When the various groups dance together, it is literally what it appears to be, making one people out of them. "The making of one

852 778 [532]

surrounded with grass and covered with paper bark. The bark is covered with human blood, on which is pasted birds' down or bush cotton, and on one yermerlindi a representation of Muit is painted in human blood against the white-feather or cotton background. This yermerlindi is another emblem of the rock python totem. The other is called a palm tree emblem, but it is known to be a python totem too, for it has a snake design upon it. The two are stood up by the Yiritja men. They say to each other, "Oh! They are true Wongars [totemic spirits]." The leader sings a song to prevent sickness since the yermerlindi are very powerful because Muit is inside them.

852 778 616

2. The Yiritja camp, where the yermerlindi is made, although still on the men's ceremonial ground, is placed at one side of the actual dancing ground. No Dua man can go near it. The Dua leader asks from time to time by circumlocution if the yermerlindi is made, even when the emblem is completed.

[431]

While the Yiritja are making the yermerlindi, the Dua men send presents of food to them for making the yermerlindi. The Yiritja men send the Dua presents of kangaroo fat and red ocher with which to paint the Yiritja dancers.

The Dua leader of the Gunabibi once more asks if the Yiritja have finished their work, and they reply that yermerlindi is ready. The leader says, "One day more and then we will dance with yermerlindi." The Yiritja never say that yemerlindi is ready until the two messengers have returned with the visitors.

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3. Following the blue-tongued lizard dance which marks the end of a phase of the ceremony, the Gunabibi pauses so the men may eat their evening meal.

Later in the evening the neophytes are placed on the raised ground on the concave side of the kartdjur. Two leaders now conduct the ceremony. A new phase of the Gunabibi has begun. A long shallow trench of some fifty feet is extended from one end of the kartdjur. The neophytes have bushes placed under their armpits. The Yiritja snakes and the Dua leaders put their own arm sweat on the eyes of all the initiates.

852 533 ● 522

All those who are not dancing stand on the raised ground with the chorus. Two dancers sing reed warbler in a small piping tone which forms a ludicrous contrast to the heavy male chorus. The onlookers in chorus appreciate the deliberate humor of the contrast. The clown element, although not definitely and elaborately developed, is present in this part of the ceremony as well as later.

884 534 A small pandanus palm stump is trimmed to a convenient size for a beating stick. As soon as the totemic drum is made, it is carried under a man's arm and struck with the pandanus palm stick. The women reply from the main camp with "Kait-bal kait-bal" This is symbolic of the beginning of an Ulmark, as the sounding of the bull roarer is of the Gunabibi.

884 773 *Native Interpretation.*—The sound of the drums is the voice of Muit, and "the women answer the same way as for Mandelprindi [in the Gunabibi] only they say 'Kait-bal kait-bal' [instead of making high trilling sounds]."—"The women calling out 'Kait-bal kait-bal' is what they said in trying to dance and keep Muit back."

C. The Kangaroo Messengers

884
1. They visit other groups to invite them. They have two kangaroo tail emblems with them.
2. The triangular dance ground is made; the behavior of the visitors who arrive.

884 202 1. For several weeks the men continue dancing the "buck and wing" jig step while the women gather palm nuts and put them in water to soak out the poison. Meanwhile a few of the men make two small emblems. One is supposed to be the tail of the large gray kangaroo, the other the tail of the stone kangaroo.

The kangaroos are then sent away to the surrounding clans to invite them to the ceremony. When they approach a camp they cut a large club-like stick and beat it against a hollow tree. The camp people hear it and realize that Ulmark messengers have arrived to invite them to its ritual. A man from the camp goes out to meet the messengers, who say, "We have two kangaroo tails here, one Dua, one Yiritja. We have all the food ready. You must come."

884 2. While the messengers are away the men in the camp make a triangular dance ground which is the same in structure, material, and form as the Djungguan dance ground. When the visitors—men, women and children—approach the camp of the clan that is giving the ceremony they paint themselves with red ocher. They sing the Kait-ba, kait-ba refrain until they arrive in the main camp. Visitors who arrive early and who have been initiated into the Ulmark are conducted by the old local men to the men's dance ground, where they start dancing the characteristic jig step of the Ulmark.

[302] [533] 884 533

All neophytes are supposed to remain on the ceremonial grounds

and not go to the main camp until the Ulmark ceremony is over. 884
They do not dance. The women stay in the women's camp. The 533
women form themselves into groups according to their clan, and dance and sing, "Kait-bal kait-bal!"

The men, also grouped according to clan, sing:

(1) The honeybee (Yer-pain) of the Dua moiety
(2) Small stone kangaroo (pardi-pardi)
(3) A grub found in rotten wood floating on lakes and rivers (Ka-mer-ung)
(4) A grub found in the trunk of the pandanus tree
(5) An acacia tree grub (Bar-ler-wir-lur)
(6) A grub found in the roots of the lake grass (I-nur-i)
(7) A grub found in the lily bulbs

At the end of each song cycle a call is made that is the same as the chorus refrain of the Djungguan ceremony.

Native Interpretation.—"When they [the messengers] hit the tree it 884
is like when those two women were walking and saw honeybees' nest 173
and cut down the tree,"—*i.e.*, the tree that is beaten by the messengers 202
is hollow, as was the tree which the old women cut down. The hollow tree is also beaten as a substitute for the hollow log drum.

The triangular dance ground is "all the same as the Djungguan." 884
It is called barn-ga-ga and means python's body. "The women dancing 173
are the two Wawilak sisters." The songs that the men sing when they 533
are divided into groups are "every kind of animal that the two women saw on their way down to Mirrirmina." These songs are to stop Muit and were sung by the two Wawilak women.

D. The Torres Straits Pigeon and Uvar

1. The pigeon emblem is placed twice within the drum on the triangular dance ground. 884 535

1. After the completion of the dance ground, the leader announces
that the Torres Straits pigeon dance will be performed. The man who [302]
dances this dance has red ocher on his face, a white head band, dots on his body, and a red ocher surfacing from the knees to the elbows. A man brings the ceremonial drum, Uvar, and lays it down at the large end of the triangular dance ground. A small light stick is painted, and feathers are tied to one end to represent the pigeon.

The dancer lies down on the ground beside the "pigeon," crying out, "Wah! Wah!!" He picks up the pigeon, arises, and dances a short

884 form. When the moon is about quarter full in the west the messengers return. Everyone becomes very quiet; that peculiar type of quietness reigns in which one almost feels there is trouble brewing within a Murngin camp.—Then the people who have had trouble during the last year, or even prior to that time, begin to quarrel and fight. They are always of different clans, never members of the same group. When [198] fights start, the leaders stop them. The people who have been keeping the Ulmark stand by, spears in hand, and talk the ki-djin "language" to them; some sing it. The "language" is a kind of native pidgin which includes words from the Mullikan, Djuan, and other native languages from the south.

884 522 A man noted for his clownish abilities takes his spear and spear-thrower from his personal basket, eats his food in an absurd manner, and generally acts the fool while he talks the kidjin language. Everyone laughs at this performance. If one of the quarreling men turns on the clown, the latter points a spear at him and pretends to spear him. The general loud laughter from everyone keeps the angry one from committing any overt act; and since the clown and his audience express no hostility, the offended man cannot cause trouble. It is clear that this clowning is a method of preventing feuds from breaking out during the ceremony.

884 535 The Torres Straits pigeon is danced again and the pigeon pulled through the drum as before. The spear is danced again, and the entire remaining sequence of Ulmark dances repeated; the snail shells are [302] placed on the spear-throwers as before, and all the men paint their bodies and upper arms and legs with red ocher and kangaroo grease.

884 533 2. The initiates lie down in two lines. The four messengers sing near the general camp, but low enough so that the women cannot hear them. They sing in the kidjin language. Then they sing louder, and the women answer with the refrain: "Kait-bal kait-ba!"

3. On the men's ground two lines of dancers throw the snail rattles back and forth. They, too, sing the refrain of the women. After this all go to the general camp singing the kait-ba song. They take the marl-pin-pin with them. When they get on the ground near the general camp they change the refrain to a kind of low humming noise, "m-u-mmmmmmmmm."

884 4. The women meanwhile have come out to the intermediate ground and stand in a line, and the men approach and form themselves into a line opposite them. The men from one clan throw a snail-shell rattle to the women belonging to the same clan. They throw the

marl-pin-pin back again. When it has gone back and forth and everyone has thrown the marlpinpin, the women finally keep it. The men now dance while singing "Kait-bal kait-bal" and return to the men's ground, the women following until they reach the edge of the taboo ground. The men go inside and the women return to their camp. 884 [535]

Native Interpretation.—"The kidjin language means talk used by the two old women when they looked up into the sky and tried to stop the rain and Muit." (It is also used in fighting and hunting; a man looks at his spear and tells it to go straight. See also story of Emu and Jabiru, Appendix VIII, page 543.) 884 198 113

"Those two women are singing to stop Muit all night and to stop the raining. The young men lie down the way the children of the two women ~~did.~~" When the boys lie down in two lines, "They are the two women. This is how they did it before." 884 113

"When the men come toward the general camp they dance the two Wawilak women at first." That is why the line of men sing Kait-bal kait-bal, for this is the cry of the two women. When they change and make the humming sound, "This is Muit coming for the two women. That is why the camp women are singing 'Kait-bal kait-bal' now."

The men and women throw the marlpinpin at each other "because the two women did. They did it because they knew lots of rain was coming. Snail is just the same as snake. He comes out just before the rainy season. That snail ran when the women had that blood."

L. The Fire Dance with Spears and Yams

1. A bark cylinder is made with spears at one end and yams at the other. The cylinder is fired and the men dance in the flames. 884

1. The men sing all night long. The old sequence of Ulmark songs and dances is followed through in one night. Songs are also sung by the chorus in which all the things the women saw and named on their march to the sea are enumerated. [533] ●

Two men leave the group and paint a bush yam with red ocher. The same men roll up pieces of paper bark into a long cylinder about one foot in diameter and about twenty feet long. Several spears are tied together and also wrapped in paper bark. It is near daylight by this time. A fire is built and the bark cylinder is placed with one end near it. At the opposite end of the bark cylinder the wrapped spears are placed. Two men sit at the fire end of the paper bark where the yam has been placed. A line of men sits down on the spears and on the paper-bark cylinder. The paper bark is lit and the men get up and 884 535

Honey is rubbed over the central part and the two ends are dotted 884
with white paint. The chorus sits down in the path that leads into the excavated dance ground. The first man holds a spear-thrower, the next a feather headdress, and the next a spear-thrower, etc. The spear-thrower and the feather headdress are taboo and like totemic emblems. The initiates are not allowed to see them. The men sing under the direction of the ceremonial leader the taboo names of the two objects.

Native Interpretation.—The men in the path "are the two women. 884
They dance this to stop rain because this was right inside [very sacred 773
and high in the totemic mysteries]. They couldn't stop because Muit wouldn't stop. The kurt-kurts [feather headdresses] are darpa snakes."

R. The Flying Fox and Kangaroo Dance

1. The kangaroos sit by the excavated triangular dance ground with lines of fire on each side of them. 884
2. The flying foxes enter and go into the hole.
3. The messengers appear.

1. Following the episode above, two lines of gray kangaroos (kai-tjim-bal) are formed, one on each side of the triangular dance hole. Three groups of men sit inside with their ceremonial feather headdresses on. A line of fire is placed on each side of the dance hole.

The kangaroos hop over the fire while they dance around the hole.

2. After this the group sing evening and morning star, the sun, [533] ●
moon, stars, and milky way. When daylight is near, everyone picks up a firebrand. Several lines of flying-fox dancers gather out in the surrounding bush. They cry out like flying foxes. They run by one another a number of times, then enter the ceremonial hole and surround each group of men there. The leader of the ceremony calls out the taboo name of the headdresses. The seated men exchange headdresses.

3. Soon after dawn messengers walk into the ceremonial camp. They are painted as Dua honeybee, darpa snake, and small kangaroo.

Native Interpretation.—When the kangaroos leap over the triangu- 884
lar well "they are swallowed by the snake." The men sitting in the 773
well with kurt-kurts (feather headdresses) are darpa snakes. When the flying-fox dancers go into the triangular well the neophytes are made young men. "The messengers are Bapa Indi who swallowed the two women, and the other men are rain."

852 men's ceremonial grounds where they are decorated for the coming ritual.

852 302 White string is put on their arms. The torso, the upper arms down to the elbows, and the upper part of the legs to the knees are painted solidly with charcoal. The lower arms and legs are covered with red ocher, as are the face and hair. Lines of white feathers are glued with orchid-bulb juice from each shoulder across to the opposite hip so that the lines cross at the navel. A band of white feathers is put around the body at the belt line. A bark forehead band is painted with white clay and tied across the forehead so that the white band outlines the upper part of the face. Lines of white feathers run from ear to ear on the lower part of the face. This ends the first day's preparations. The women meanwhile have been gathering food for the morrow's ceremony.

Native Interpretation.—The natives say, "Marndiella is quick because the snake came quick. The design painted on the boy's torso symbolizes a woman's 'harness' because he is all the same as a woman."

B. The Song Sequence

852 1. The men cut their arms to make the blood flow, and a cycle of songs is sung.

533 2. The initiates have spears thrown at them.

1. In the morning the men cut their arms, as they do in the Gunabibi and Djungguan, for blood to be used in the ritual for both its magical power and its adhesive qualities. While the cutting is taking place the leader and the other men sing the following cycle of songs, time being kept by the beating of singing sticks:

(1) Flying fox (Yari-war-la)
(2) A small honeybee—Dua
(3) A large Dua honeybee
(4) The scales of the small fresh-water fish (Bi-dji-ma)
(5) Water ripples
(6) Flower of the water lily (La-barn-dja)—Yiritja
(7) Water-lily stalk (O-lo-nair-i)—Yiritja
(8) Flight of the dollar bird (Yam-yam-ming-o)—Dua
(9) Fruit tree's fruit (Djar-la-larn-a)—Yiritja
(10) Leaf of this tree (Gir-in-gir-in)—Yiritja
(11) Flower of this tree (Gar-dok-gar-dok-me-la)—Yiritja

533
852

(Children eat this food more than anyone else and it is associated with them as candy would be with European children.)

(12) Domesticated female dog (Yair-a-wa-din-ya)—Yiritja
(13) Male dog (Gorn-daort borola)—Yiritja
(14) Wild female dog (Gu-lang-na-ngang-ba)—Yiritja
(15) Wild male dog (Wart-pir-i-djin-na)—Yiritja
(16) Wild dog pup (Dir-a-ra-ko)—Yiritja
(17) Big gray kangaroo (Kai-tjim-bal)—Yiritja
(18) His face (Bo-ko-nar-wil-li)—Yiritja
(19) Hop of the kangaroo (Lor-o-to-djin-ya)—Yiritja
(When the big kangaroo song is sung two men stand up and dance in the manner described in the Djungguan ceremony. Later the entire group dances songs. They do not paint for this part of the ritual.)
(20) Buttocks of the kangaroo (Kjar-la-ba-ba)—Yiritja
(21) Path to the Kangaroo water hole (Dir-go-go)—Yiritja
(22) Depression in the ground approaching the water hole (Barng-in-dal brang-in-dal)—Yiritja
(23) Water hole for the kangaroo's drink (Lar-lar-la-war-ain-yi)—Yiritja
(24) Parasite found on the yam (Djo-go-mirn-nir-i)—Dua
(25) Salty-tasting yam's leaf (Si-ba-ma mai-al-pong-o)—Dua
(26) Teeth of the big kangaroo (Lir-a-mai-yor-o)—Yiritja
(27) Young lily (Dji-ma-rang-gal)—Yiritja
(28) The young of the gray kangaroo (Da-gan-da)—Yiritja
(29) Fire circle used to hunt kangaroos (Gan-djarl-gar-ra)—Yiritja
(30) Cycad palm nut (Bal-mar-din-gur-a)—Yiritja
(31) The shell of the cycad palm nut (Pal-mar-yir-in-i)—Yiritja
(32) Cycad palm tree (Din-gu)—Yiritja
(33) Acacia tree (nin-bal-ma)—Dua
(34) Flower of the acacia tree (Warng-gi-ir-i)—Dua
(35) Leaf of the acacia tree (Yun-bar-djun-bar)—Dua
(36) Trumpet's wood (Ma-rin-bor mar-ba)—Dua
(37) A small night bird (Tar-bo tar-bo)—Yiritja

This sequence of songs is repeated a number of times. The men sing after the evening meal until quite late at night. Sometimes the ceremony is continued until the next morning. In the morning the

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852 men paint themselves on the ceremonial grounds for the morning's dance, and then sit down in a circle within the general camp. They throw spears at the boys who are to be circumcised and then take them inside the ceremonial grounds. The chief animals represented are dog, kangaroo, and honeybee. The ceremonial leader, when the men have almost completed their painting, returns to the camp. He has a large pair of singing sticks.

Native Interpretation.—The native interpretation of this second section will be discussed in the general analysis, Chapter XI.

C. The Women's Mat Dance

1. The young initiate (or initiates) and his mother's brother's daughter are put under an ainmara.
2. Fires are lighted and clan names called out.

1. The men who do not figure in the dancing, but who take part in the ceremony as members of the men's chorus, go with the leader to the main camp.

In the cleared space in the center of the camp the initiate is put under the woman's mat with his feet sticking out from under it. A young woman, preferably his galle, is put under the ainmara with him. The boy's mother (arndi) and his mother's mother (mari) stand over him. They wave their head circlets over him because this
[262] is supposed to take away any harmful effect his eating the flesh of large animals may have had—in other words, from having eaten any of the things permitted up until this time, but which from now on he will not be allowed to include in his diet until he is married and has a child.

852 2. The leader and chorus sing fire (Laid-dal-ma-yao-yao) during this part of the ceremony. Fires are lighted at this point, which is a
533 signal for the dancers to come out. The taboo names of many clan territories are called out by the leader and chorus. The women slap their thighs and keep time with the men's singing and the beating of the singing sticks. All the women are painted with red ocher
852 except the two who stand over the boy. They are painted in a rough
[302] imitation of him. The women sit while the men stand. The men have their spear-throwers lying on the back of their necks and a hand on each end of the weapon. The scene at this part of the Marndiella corresponds to that at the end of the Djungguan at the time of the circumcision.

796 173 *Native Interpretation.*—The natives make a clear distinction between the Yiritja and the Dua Narra rites, but basically they are exactly the same. The formulae at the end of the songs in the Yiritja and Dua are different, and other formalized elements have slight variations; but in the fundamentals the structures of the two ceremonies are very similar, and the interpretations given are much the same. Because the two Djunkgao sisters were supposed to be Dua, there is a feeling that the Yiritja ceremony is associated with the floods and not with the women.

[535] The natives say they dance bandicoot right after water because he comes out of the bush first after the rain time, scratching small holes to look for food.

The women run away from the tree, say the natives, because the two old sisters ran in their time when the men approached them.

796 B. THE MEN DANCE WITH THE CARVED WOOD OF THE TOTEMIC EMBLEMS

1. The men shave themselves as in the Dua Narra.
2. The quail and fire dances are performed.
3. The totems are shown and the totemic bread eaten.
4. The women paint and the men go to the men's ground.

[302] 1. The men shave, leaving only the small "Van Dyke," putting heated honeybee wax on the beard and pulling it out. The leader then calls out the power name of Banitja (see list of totems, pages 34-48), one of the more important Yiritja totems:

"Bir-ka bir-ka banitja
Bir-ka bir-ka djir-lir-war-a (barrimundi)."

796 535 2. Following this song, the leader and the chorus dance quail (djerkit). The quail is supposed to be the leader for fire and is therefore the leader for shaving with hot wax. After this dance the people become inquisitive and want to know what will be next. "What will we do?" they say. "Shall we tie our opossum string to our totemic emblems? What will we do?"

The leader says, "No, we will leave them."

796 533 3. While the totemic bread is being eaten and sung over in the men's ground, the totemic emblems are painted, the same procedure gone through, and the same attitudes taken as in the Dua Narra. The leader sings the water cycle of songs, with bandicoot taking the prominent lead. A totemic well next is sung, then mud and man-

grove fish are called out. The last is a variety of borer found in the trunks of mangrove trees and is Yiritja. The totemic emblem is then painted with yellow lines representing the totems. 796 533

4. The leader directs that red ocher and white clay be sent to the main camp. One or more old men have been left in this camp to look out for the women and children. The old men direct the women while they paint. The women paint themselves to represent barrimundi and albatross (marn-ba), creatures associated with the sea tides and not the flood. 796 [382]

Native Interpretation.—The association of quail with fire is interpreted by the Murngin: "Quail is the boss for fire and Narra time. We call out that one when it is time to light the fires and we carry his ranga. Quail has a ranga and he is in the Narra ceremony." The quail in Wongar days, according to myth, threw some fire about and burned his feathers. Further, the quail is usually found in the low brush when it is fired during the burning season. 796 733

C. They Dance Around the Ring of Women

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1. The same general outline of dancing is followed as in the Dua Narra; different animals and birds appear.
2. The totems are placed in the clan wells.

1. The men leave the ceremonial grounds and go to the main camp, calling out the big name of white clay:

"Bir-ka bir-ka bu-lor-mar-mar (white clay)
Bir-ka bir-ka gar-wa-wa (yellow paint stone)
Birka-bir-ka mar-ku-la (white bubbles caused by barrimundi biting at fish)."

When they arrive near the camp, leader and chorus sing "birka birka marnba [a sea bird]." Near the entrance to the camp two men dance marnba. One dances to the right, the other to the left. They both turn at the same time, retrace their steps, pass each other, repeat the figure a number of times, and then dance around the ring and are surrounded by the chorus.

The women by now are fully painted.

After dancing the marnba the men dance barrimundi and follow this with Yiritja honeybee. They then form a long file. An old man meanwhile has gathered the women into a ring. They are under their ainmaras. The men, with the spears in their hands, dance around the women. They are supposed to be dancing garrawark and sea foam the profane (since he gives an increasing proportion of his time to 761 ritual activities), until finally he returns to where he first originated, the 771 totemic well.

The father's dream at a child's birth is an expression of the relation 771 of the ordinary to the sacred, since the dream announces a soul's entering the world of the living; and the mortuary ceremony is a ritualization of the relation of the once living soul[1] and also of his mourning kin to the world of the sacred and the dead. The mourning rites symbolize the relationship of these two realms in the beliefs of the Murngin.

This chapter will first describe, without interpretation except that 128 of the natives, the mortuary rituals and afterwards present interpretative conclusions. It might be stated that when all the field material which is given here was collected the author had no idea of where the facts led, and it was only by an analysis of the material and by relating it to the rest of the social configuration that the general ideas concerning the aboriginal mourning rites were discovered.

II. Murngin Death, Mortuary and Mourning Ceremonies and Customs

When it is believed that a man is very close to death[2] his relatives 763 gather about him and wail; some of them, in a plaintive voice, sing 533 the garma water cycle of songs of his moiety and clan, the leader usually beating time on his singing sticks. The dying man is supposed to listen to these songs and to follow their suggestions; if he cannot understand what is being said, it is believed that the spirit of his marikmo (father's father) or his mari will come when he hears, and talk to the soul which is about to leave the body and instruct it on what it has to do.

"We sing these songs to make that soul a good one, so he won't hurt any of us." Sometimes when a man has been speared and is still alive a song is sung over him to tell him to die in the proper manner and not allow his soul to make any difficulties for those who are alive. A man who has been badly injured in a spear fight and thinks that he is about to die likes to have this singing because it soothes his pain and removes any worry about the disposition of his soul. "That fellow who has been speared says, 'There is no time for me to live now. I am

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[1] All Murngin individuals possess two souls: one (warro) which is from the totem [774] well and important, and the other which is a trickster (mokoi).

[2] See "The Moon and the Parrot Fish," Appendix VIII, Myths, a rather amusing story which accounts for death.

763 533 very close to death. I had better die,' and when that spider song comes he is dead and his soul leaves him."

The songs mean "he thinks of his totem and his totem well and he wants his spirit to go straight to his well when he dies." The man may call out the sound of water or make the cry of his totem. If, for example, a Liaalaomir were near death he would cry out like a python trumpet and "like that snake when he made rain."

As the garma song cycle reaches each totemic element in the sequence, a dying Warumeri clansman is supposed to make motions in imitation of the totemic animal; for example, when the relatives sing whale he kicks to simulate the movement of a whale's body in the sea. This is indicative of his immediate death, of which he is attempting to tell his father and mother. He is becoming like his totem. The father and mother understand the symbol and know then that death is certain. When a man dies he wants the songs of his father and his father's father's people sung into his ears and listened to by his ancestors before he passes away; i.e., he wants the songs of his own clan and his own moiety sung, so that even in death accent is on the patrilineal character of his inheritance and status in life, and the place where he is going and the change in his qualities.

533 763 775 The man goes into a coma. He is dead now, according to Murngin thought, even though the heart still flutters. The relatives notice that it is still moving and although they realize that the life of the body is finished they understand that the grandfather or the mari (mother's mother's brother) is looking out for him. They can tell this because the old ancestor has entered into the heart where the soul of the man has lived during his lifetime. The song cycle now repeats the words about a man going inside the jungle. The heart of the dying man is now ready for this. The soul listens for that song. "It is as though that soul had gone inside the jungle country which belongs to his clan's people. His father's father is taking the soul away." The last quick breaths come and the soul comes out of his heart and out of his windpipe and finally out of his mouth. He is dead.

The song now is to make the soul such a perfect character that he will find his ancestors and go straight to his totem well. "If we didn't sing he might go bad because evil ghosts (mokois) might catch him and take him out in the jungle country where they live. It is better that his old grandfathers and his ancestors come and get him and take him straight to his clan well where his totem came from."

763 Even though the garma song is being sung during a man's dying

764 184 able individual variation, since some leaders will include many more items than others. The material presented here has been selected more or less on the basis of including the normal songs and of what the most informed Murngin considered the ideal way of expressing them. Selections have been made from the clans in the east and west and include garma songs of both moieties in the two regions.

The Warnt-djer (leaf), a garma type of ceremony for the removal of the spirits of the dead, is found among both the Yiritja and Dua clans, except the Liagaomir, Naladaer and Ding Ding. The mast ceremony (mar-ai-yir-ri) is found among the eastern Yiritja clans, including the Gunalbingu, the Warumeri, the Kolpa, Wangurri, Darlwongo, Birkili, Komaits, Burilung, Kiki and Maradunggimi. The Barnumbir or Morning Star ceremony is used only by the Dua clans; it has a general distribution. The western Dua groups use Yurlunggur in their garma ceremonies; the eastern people do not. The cockatoo or ni-erk type of ceremony is found only among the Yiritja clans of both the east and west. The Nierk ceremony is used for the raising of the hollow log coffin and at times for a circumcision which would come immediately after putting up the hollow log. This sequent association of mourning and circumcision rites has a rather important interpretative significance.

764 533 The garma type of songs and ceremonies as well as the Narra has a central core of ritual which is known as the land- and sea-ways. Each moiety has a land-way cycle of garma songs and a sea-way cycle. The sea-way cycle describes the movement of the tide and the sea into the land, up through the tidal rivers, and into the small lakes. The sea-way describes a canoe coming on with the tide. Various activities take place in bringing the canoe in and beaching it. The occupant of the canoe is a Wongar man. Various occurrences while the canoe is coming in show the rise of the tide and its flow into the land. The ritualistic songs and occasional dances in this sea-way cycle express the intimate relations of man to his natural environment, and transmute nature into man's social structure and social values, and man into nature's order. The land-way cycle is the exact opposite of the sea-way. It describes the clouds gathering in the high country, the rain coming from the clouds, the rivulets running into the creeks, the creeks into the larger rivers, and the great rainy-season flood going to the sea. The various creatures associated with this natural phenomenon are brought into the sequence of songs.

Eastern Yiritja Sea Tide Garma Cycle of Songs and Dances.—The members of the clan and the close relatives, including the wives and their near relatives, gather around a symbolic well, a basin about two feet in diameter scraped out of the ground. The ceremonial leader of the clan beats his singing sticks and directs the singing. The sacred totemic names of the clan well of the dead are sung over it to make it the "well" of the dead. The song, which has a wailing quality, is designed to send the soul away from the group and into the totemic well, and to force the trickster spirit out into the jungle. It also helps purify the living group. 764 533

All possessions of the people which are in intimate relation to the body, such as wearing apparel, spear-throwers, spears, tobacco, and the like, are placed in the well. This singing takes place not only in the camps where a man has died, but also in any other camp where his near relatives are living at the time. Certain members of the clan agree among themselves to go out hunting, particularly for the animals which belong to the totem, while other members of the group are selected to sing the garma songs.

The eastern cycle of songs follows:

(1) An island far out in the sea.
(2) Lightning that strikes out in the middle ocean and in the east.
(3) Black cloud (mo-dais).
(4) A wind coming in from the sea.
(5) Calm sea water (ran-gu-ra).
(6) Heavy waves on the surface of the sea (man-bui-na).
(7) A small bird, not identified, that dives into the sea for fish (ba-lin-ta-pi).
(8) Kingfish (guin-go-lo).
(9) A flat white fish (yar-war-i).
(10) Whale.
"That one who throws water like rain" (wi-ma-ri, nal-lan-gi, and mar-ping-o). (The last two names are esoteric.)
(11) Diamond fish (ring-ga).
(12) Crocodile.
"The crocodile sings lightning when it comes in the east and that's when the crocodile lays his eggs and that's when the sting ray gets fat and good to eat. When that lightning comes and the rain comes that makes the sting ray fat, that makes the crocodile lay his eggs. Before that time the sting ray has no fat and he is not worth eating." [825]

764 (13) A plank floating on the tide and coming toward the shore (papung, probably a Malay word).
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(14) A hollow log floating on the incoming tide (u-lo-ba-ri).
(15) A small oyster found on the plank (rar-i-tji).
(16) Coconuts floating on an incoming tide (ta-on-gil).
(17) The country where the coconut, hollow log, and plank come from. "We don't know what that country is. No people are there. We only sing it because the old old people sang it that way."
(18) The back of a turtle (near land) (go-ar-tji).
(19) The head of a tortoise-shell turtle (wil-ar-a).
(20) People where the coconuts come from—the east (ki-lur-o).
(21) Paddle (mar-ra-la).
(22) Canoe (li-pal-pa).
(23) Noise the paddle makes on the gunwale (ma-la-o-ma).
(24) A small bird crying out on the beach when it sees the people coming in from the canoe (go-lo-wit-pit).
(25) Paddle (mar-ra-la).
(26) The paddles being thrown on the beach.
(27) Canoe rolling about on the beach with the sea hitting against it.
(28) Men walking along on the beach.
(29) Men looking for turtle eggs in the sand beach.
(30) Men following the tracks of turtles going toward the nest.
(31) The turtle nest (ka-tji-ng).
(32) Turtle eggs.
The men are drinking the white of the turtle egg (i-di-ka).
(33) Basket (kan-nan-gir).
The men are putting the eggs in the basket.
(34) Putting the basket on the shoulder and carrying it down to the shade.
(35) Putting the eggs down in the shade.
(36) Walking fast down the large path to the well.
(37) Cleaning the dirt and refuse out of the well.
(38) Washing oneself with the water because of the dirt on the body from cleaning out the well.

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It is at this place in the song sequence that some of the men get into the symbolic basin, the water from the melon shells is poured over them, they wash and cover themselves with red ocher. These are men to whom the dead relative has appeared in a dream. They are washing away his soul because it would make them sick. "You have a good friend of yours who is dead a little while ago; you feel very sorry. At night you go to sleep. You dream and he comes to see you. You sing this garma song the way we do this. You won't worry any more. You

won't dream any more. But suppose you didn't have these songs, that 764
spirit would come and make you sick and maybe kill you.—When we 533
dream of our dead relative we ask our brothers to sing for us while we 787
go hunt for turtle. We come back, get all our things, our spears and our dilly bags and our belts, put them in the well and sing over them."

(39) Taking off ornaments and drying them on the well. 764
(40) Going back to the turtle beach, cleaning off dirt under the big trees. (The leaves are now brought in for the fire and smoke ritual.) 533
(41) Gathering wood for a fire.
(42) Fire burning.
(43) Coals of a fire smoking.
(44) People are sleepy and they sleep.
(45) Waking up.
(46) Smoking a cigarette.
"The smoke goes up from the tobacco (na-rai-li)."
(47) Red cloud (ri-pa).
That smoke went up into the sky and made a red cloud. The red cloud song indicates the singing is completed.

Eastern Dua Sea Cycle of Songs.—The eastern Dua clans, namely, those found around Buckingham and Arnhem Bays along the western shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria, possess the following sequence of garma songs and dances. The first song usually sung in this area is about a Wongar yolno, who was paddling a canoe out in the ocean.

(1) Wongar yolno (mi-tja-lo).
(2) Black sea grass (dji-o-el).
(3) A sea bird (dja-rok).
(4) A very small fish (yint-gar).
(5) A salt-water snake (yar-luer).
(6) Salt-water turtle (ka-ri-wa).
(7) A floating hollow log (wir-o-ko).
(8) The tide going out (ka-pu-mon-oak).
(9) The tide is standing still far out (ka-pu u-tu nor-o-tin kan-ga).
(10) Burial log (dai-mer-i).
"He walks around on the bottom of the sea, he is a Wongar. We only see him at night and he looks like a hollow log."
(11) "The man [Wongar yolno] is coming to the shore now. The tide is rolling the canoe in and it is high tide" (tur-ri-u-na, "pumping out that canoe").
(12) Paddle (ma-tin): danced by women.
They carry the paddles on their shoulders, put them in the shade. The yolno is supposed to be walking around now look-

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ing for turtle eggs. He looks down and finds the nest, puts the eggs in the basket, returns to the shade, and sits down.

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(13) Ring around the fire (ko-mer-nin-na).
This is a ring of men around a fire. The Wongar yolno has brought in some fire wood and broken it up and made a fire to cook the turtle eggs.

At this place in the ceremony they take the green branches of a tree, put them in the fire, and the men ceremonially brush the smoking branches over the heads and chests of all participants and near relatives of the man who has died. "That spirit of the dead man goes away now. That means the souls of our own people, not our enemies."

(14) The man sits down and goes to sleep, wakes up and goes away.
(15) He takes fire sticks, walks around and puts fire to the grass, which makes a big bush fire. The fire smoke goes up into the heavens, into the clouds. The dancers, while this is going on, dance with fire sticks in their hands.
(16) The Wongar snake in the sky (u-var-ko).
(17) Another large snake (dar-pa).
(18) Caterpillar.
(19) The fire which has been built is in a small basin (symbolic totemic water hole). It is a snake camp.

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On one side are two lines of snake dancers, one Uvarko and the other Darpa. Facing them on the other side of the fire are two lines of caterpillar dancers. (The caterpillars are classed as snakes among the Murngin.) To one side of the fire and between the two lines of dancers are the iguanas. While the snakes and caterpillars dance back and forth beside the fire the iguanas stamp on the fire and put it out. The snakes are supposed to be going to fight, but the extinction of the fire in the totem well by the iguanas means that all the people in this country are one people. Each dancer carries a basket in his mouth to symbolize a fighting man, and each carries a spear shaft or stick and moves it to represent the head of a snake.

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(20) Hermit crab.
The men hold bushes up in front of themselves and hit their chests, keeping time to the rhythm.
(21) Blow fly (wor-or-lorl).
The dancers simulate the buzzing of the fly and move their hands back and forth to imitate the vibration of its wings.
(22) A shore bird (por-leur-or).
One of the dancers moves his legs rapidly up and down and

stamps on the ground and flutters his arms up and down to indicate the bird is flying away. 764 535

(23) Morning star (bar-num-bir).
Everyone carries fire sticks. The dancers move back and forth before the leader of the ceremony, moving the fire sticks up and down in the darkness. Moving them up is supposed to represent darkness, and down, daylight. 533

The Morning Star Ceremony.[8]—The morning star ceremony is Dua. The song cycle starts with Barnumbir (morning star): 764 533

Gar-le-in-bui
East
Yal-main-aoi
Morning star
Djan-gir-ir
Morning star
Ma-rang-in
Morning star

Chorus: Aa-ee kai kai kai kai

Barnumbir yea-a-a

Gar-le-in-bui
East
Yal-main-aoi
Morning star
Djan-gir-ir
Morning star
Ma-rang-in
Morning star

Chorus: Kai kai kai kai

Yo yo-o-o

If the first song is at night, the men dance with firebrands, and if in the afternoon, with bunches of white cockatoo feathers tied to strings. The leader and chorus stand off at the side. The chorus are supposed to be mokois. [535]

(2) Mokois (gurn-dju-la); the chorus is then repeated.
(3) Mokoi food, a small tuber.
(4) Butterfly (burn-ba).

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[8] The Murngin have a long myth which is associated with the Barnumbir ritual. See Appendix VIII.

The butterfly is closely associated with the morning star and lives on top of it.

(5) A small paper-bark tree, sung because the morning star and the mokois light on top of it in their flight over the jungles.

(6) Bat (gar-nat-bin).

"This one flies on top of the sky with the mokois at night time. We are afraid when we hear that noise at night that this bat makes because he has got mokois with him."

(7) Ibis, the black variety.

"When the mokois walk around they look at that ibis, and he looks at them, and we can tell when they are around because he looks at them."

(8) The name of the land on the western shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria (Cape Wilberforce) where the morning star first lights.

(9) Fire.

(10) An unidentified bird closely associated with the mokois.

(11) The darpa snake.

(12) The flower of the paper-bark tree.

(13) The bark of this tree.

"The Morning Star is going into the bush now. This tree bark wrapped around the corpse makes that spirit feel good."

(14) A small parrakeet.

This is sung because he eats the flowers in the trees.

(15) The slender long-headed type of honeybee.

(16) Crow.

(17) Pandanus basket in which the honey is placed.

(18) Grass, the kind that is dipped into the honey to eat it.

(19) Boomerang.

(20) Spear-thrower and stone spear.

(21) Kangaroo, the Dua variety.

(22) A small unidentified bird.

(23) Rock python.

(24) Rain.

(25) A rock ledge.

(26) Pandanus.

(27) The long type of yam, Dua variety.

(28) Mosquito.

(29) Rain.

"That rain makes the yam and everything grow up and good."

(30) The rope for a harpoon.

(31) The paddle used in a harpooning expedition.

(32) Porpoise.

(33) Sea grass that the turtle eats.

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(34) Rain.
(35) The hollow log coffin.
(36) Small fish.

> "He is that fish that goes inside the woman. It is a very small one. He floats around in the water and goes inside that hollow log."

(37) Salt-water snake with a flat tail (yarl-lur).
(38) Low tide.
(39) A stone fire.
(40) Cutting up the turtle.
(41) Lighting the fire.
(42) Smoke from the fire going into the clouds.
(43) The cloud where the snake lives.
(44) Rain.
(45) A small bird.
(46) A man standing on a rock burning off the top of the rock.
(47) Barnumbir.

The Dua Land or Flood Cycle

(1) A Wongar yolno walking around.
(2) Stone spear.

> "That spear belongs to him."

(3) Spear-thrower.
(4) Wongar yolno sneaking up to kill that kangaroo.
(5) He kills that kangaroo and carries him on his back.
(6) He is sitting down now cutting him up and eating him.
(7) Red cloud.

> "That is the blood that belongs to this kangaroo."

The kangaroo element in the song sequence can be removed according to the totem clan and some other animal such as turtle put in its place. Killing of the kangaroo refers to death, and cutting up the kangaroo is a reference to the exhumation of the body after death.

(8) Fire stick.
(9) Walking away.
(10) A honey basket.
(11) Carrying the honey basket.
(12) Biting the honey basket and spitting it out.

> "That is to make rain."

(13) A small parrakeet.
(14) Stringy bark flower.
(15) The Dua honeybee.
(16) Wasp.

764 (17) Big-eared lizard.

533 (18) Caterpillar.
(The honeybee, wasp, lizard and caterpillar are totemic objects in the Dua moiety.)

(19) A sea gull.

(20) Barnumbir ceremonial string.

(21) Crow.

(22) Small stringy-bark tree.

(23) A small black stone found in the bush.

(24) Boomerang.
This is sung because the boomerang is associated with people in the farther interior.

(25) The tide carrying the man [Wongar yolno] down to the sea.

(26) A beach on the ocean.

(27) A bark water carrier.

(28) Making it.

(29) Pulling up water from a totem well, washing himself.
As in the other garma cycles, the various relatives ceremonially wash themselves in the symbolic totemic well.

(30) Leaving the well.

(31) Making a stick with human hair on top of it "which is just the same as the stringy-bark flower, and that flower is all the same as a man's hair."

(32) Putting the stick in the ground with other sticks like it and dancing. This offers an opportunity for the Barnumbir morning star ceremony.

(33) Putting a white feathered string on the sticks.

(34) Making a fire to cook food.
(At this part of the singing the men are brushed with smoking leaves and sometimes dance with firebrands stuck in their armpits so that the smoke pours over them.)

(35) A very low tide.

(36) A hollow tree lying on the beach.
Reference is to the hollow log in which the bones are placed.

(37) Pelican.
The pelican's bill is supposed to be a net which catches the soul (see makarata dances).

(38) Fish net.
The fish net is the same as the pelican.

(39) Salmon fish.

(40) Mullet.

(41) Dua fish.
Fish are supposed to be the souls of dead men caught in the nets.

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(42) Wallaby carrying a spear and looking for fish. 764
The wallaby and kangaroo are always said to act like men and 533
frequently symbolize man. "Kangaroo was a man at that time. [825]
He was just the same as we proper people that first time."

(43) The sun.
"The sun and that wallaby have gone into the bush, way inside, to make a camp."

(44) Shade in the western sky; the sun is in the east.

(45) A shade comes back this way.

(46) A kangaroo comes along with the shade.

(47) Afternoon.
"Sing Kangaroo jumping around slowly in the afternoon and going back again to the jungle."

(48) Wongar yolno.
"He goes back to his house in the bush too. He cleans the leaf away and makes him a good camp."

(49) Spear and mangel.
"He picks his spear and mangel up and dances."

(50) Red cloud.
The element used to finish the ceremony.

The red cloud is also supposed to appear in the skies just before [824]
night falls, and that is the reason, according to the Murngin, why it is used to symbolize the end of the ceremony.

Yiritja Garma Land or Flood Cycle

(1) Black rain cloud.
"That cloud is ready for rain to fall down."

(2) A very heavy rain falling down.

(3) Water running down in a small creek.
"That water is running in a larger stream."

(4) Brook in the rain season when it is swollen with floods.

(5) Fresh-water turtle.
"When the fresh water starts running up high this fresh-water turtle swims along with it just like he has come up out of the ground through the spring water."

(6) Leech.
"His house is in the fresh water and he wriggles around. He is always with fresh-water turtle."

(7) Hollow log.
"This running water has thrown it across the stream and that log has stuck there"—an indirect reference to the log used for the interment of the bones.

764 (8) Grass used for armlets.

"The grass is growing up now because of that water."

533 (9) Barrimundi.

"Barrimundi is in the lily place; Barrimundi has come out from the salt water to meet the schools of fresh-water fish coming down from the bush."

(10) A small red bird with a white breast.

"That bird is looking for fish, he eats minnows and he likes lice."

(11) Slow water.

"The water is running slower now. It stops quiet and is not running the way it did."

(12) A man walking along the side of the creek.

(13) Nierk cockatoo.

"He is up in the tree and he is looking at that man and he is calling out at him"—again a reference to the mokoi soul (cockatoo) and the man walking around below who is the warro.

(14) A small bird which eats ants, butterflies and insects.

(15) The warnba's nest.

"We also sing yea for that bird when we sing that. When that small bird grows up his mother will teach him how to sing and say our language. We people talk, that bird answers back. He talks like a man."

(16) A variety of ibis.

"He is standing up looking for the fish and he sees them jumping about. He tries to catch them but he can't." The ibis is also associated with the mokois, and the fish with the true soul, and this again is an indirect reference to the attempts of the mokois to steal the true soul and prevent it from entering into the totem well.

(17) A man and woman walking around on the plain.

"They are Yiritja people."

(18) Spear fight.

"Everybody is running back and forth fighting"; a fight takes place between the ancestors and the living, a ritualistic spear fight.

(19) Crocodiles.

When a makarata is going to be fought or the time when a near fight is on, some of the fighters paint themselves with white lines to symbolize crocodiles.

(20) Fresh-water turtle.

(21) Wild dog.

The wild dog is also in this fight.

(22) A cockatoo flock.

"They see these fighting people and they fly up out of the trees, singing out." 764 533

(23) A man and woman looking for lilies.
"They are looking at the black duck in the lily places." This is a reference to the totem of the Warumeri, Wangurri, and Ritarngo Yiritja people.

(24) All the people going down to look for lilies (Yiritja people only).

(25) Mud taken up looking for lilies.

(26) Washing the lilies in the water to remove the mud.

(27) Washing themselves off after the mud has got on them.
This element in the sequence is often used for the ceremonial washing in the symbolic totemic well.

(28) Lilies in a basket.

(29) Walking from the lily place "to go look for a dry place to sit down."

(30) Taking a fire stick and burning the grass (Yiritja grass) to make a place for a camp. The burning leaves may be used to be brushed over the bodies of the mourners.

(31) Grass burning rapidly over the plains—a direct reference to burning the grass to facilitate hunting and to clear the paths, and an indirect reference to the smoke ceremony which chases away not only the mokois but the true soul of the dead.

(32) Rats.
"The rats are on the plain and they are running away from the fire. They are singing and are crying out." The rats have an inner meaning which refers to the souls of the dead leaving.

(33) Words and talk.
"The people are sitting down in the shade now and talking. They are talking about the sun going down."

(34) Spider.
"The spiders come out in the cool when the sun goes down. The spider puts up his web from tree to tree. He takes his string one place and goes to another place."

This ends the sequence of songs. At this point in the ceremony a man comes out and dances in front of the chorus holding his legs very high and moving his hands to imitate a spider spinning a large web. The spider is definitely associated with the soul of the dead. "We sing this way because our older people sang that way. All Yiritja sing that way. Dua sing different when their dead men die. I take my songs from my mari [mother's mother's brother] and my marikmo [father's father]; they [the relatives] are Yiritja." 764 [533]

764
"We sing for that warro soul and which way he has gone. He walks 775

764 115 around the same way we sing. That food the relatives of that dead man give me when I sing this song so I can take those smoking leaves and put them in the fire and chase that spirit away and so we can go out hunting and that spirit will not bother us."

764 The living relatives talk to the recent dead both before burial and after, and continue until the bones have been exhumed, painted, and placed in the hollow log for their final interment.

764 533 In preparing the body for burial by painting the totemic design of the man's clan upon its chest and abdomen, one man usually stands by with his singing sticks and leads the singing while the others paint. He sings a list of garma songs, including a list of the paints being used in decorating the body. He then sings string and bark for tying up the body in a paper-bark coffin. The singing continues while the paper bark is being placed over the body and tied into position. When this operation is completed the singer sings the red cloud element in the song sequence, which is a symbol of the end of the song and of the operation.

764 533 177 *The Mast Ceremony.*—The relatives then call out for all the people to appear. They sing a new song cycle, the first element in which is a ship's mast that belonged to a Wongar Macassar.[4] Two or more men pick up the dead body and move it up and down as though they were lifting a mast. The chorus sings "Oh—a—ha—la!!" while the "mast" is laid down. When it is picked up again they sing

"O—o—o—o—a—ha—la!
A—ha—la!!
A—ha—la!!"

764 177 "The Macassar mast was like that," said my informant while viewing a burial ceremony with me. "Macassar man sang out when he raised a mast and when he did that all of us black men ran from our camps to see him go because all of us knew then that the Macassar was ready to go away. Some people would say, 'What's the matter with those Macassars, what are they doing?' and other people would say, 'Oh, they are going to another place because their mast is standing up straight.' This is all the same as that dead man because he is ready to go away. We people say the same thing about him. 'What is the matter with him?' and it is like that dead man saying back, 'I am standing up straight now, I am going away.' It is like an old Wongar

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[4] For a full account of the influence of the Malay culture on the Murngin, see Social Change in North Australia, Appendix I.

764 tinues to the open grave, the corpse being carried as though it were a mast.

Anyone can carry the body to the grave. The pallbearer can be either Yiritja or Dua. There is only one exception theoretically to that rule, and that occurs between gawel and waku; neither can carry the other's dead body. Each must keep away from the sweat of the dead man. If either should touch the body of his dead relative, he would not be able to eat food. If he should eat food, he would get a sore in his stomach.

764 ● 533 The garma singing and dancing that now takes place may last from the early morning until the late evening, but ordinarily it would occur only in the late afternoon. The cycle of songs sung can be either the sea or land group; sometimes both of them are sung. When the body is put in the grave the leader calls out the sacred power names, and also sings the sacred names of the totem well.

If the man were Yiritja, let us say Warumeri clansman, the leader would call out the following names:

Bir-ka bir-ka djar-a
(Ceremonial expression of the Yiritja moiety, spring water)
Bir-ka bir-ka mil-yar-ui
"A tree coming from the spring"
Bir-ka bir-ka ga-urn ga-urn
"Pebbles boiling in the spring water"
Bir-ka bir-ka ka-ka-lor-ui
"Small stones in the bottom of the spring"
Bir-ka bir-ka kar-a-ki-ar-oi
"Small valley where the spring water runs."

764 The corpse is then put into the grave, which is symbolically the sacred well of the dead man and his clan. The grave is about four feet deep. The corpse is placed face down and the body is laid out straight. If the knee should pull up it is straightened out. Flexed burial is not practiced here. The natives do not know why they put the body face downward.

764 775 The calling out of the sacred names is supposed to be a signal to the marikmo and mari of the deceased to come and guide the soul to the totem well. After the several cycles of songs have been sung, the leader sings out earth. The earth is symbolically neither Dua nor Yiritja, and everyone including men, women, and children, throws a certain amount of earth into the open grave. The spirit is supposed to be under

the dirt but the marikmo can pick him out and take him away. The 764
earth is heaped over the body, grass is put on top and, at times, stones. 775
Everyone leaves then and eats his evening meal.

A man is buried by his people so that he will rot and the flesh can 764
be prepared for removal from the bones. The people who bury their dead say they do it so they won't have to see him rot.

(In platform burial the body is placed face upward so that when 764
the abdominal wall breaks the intestines will not fall. The platform is 769
not torn down when a body is removed. It is always avoided thereafter, although the feeling is rather slight about it. Ordinarily women feel a greater sense of taboo about it than men. They always pass by at some little distance because "they are afraid that that mokoi is still there." The men, when they are with the women, sometimes tease them by grunting and coughing like mokois, and laugh when the women jump. The women laugh too, but usually not until later.)

The men then call out the names of the dead male mari and marikmo 764
of the dead man. The groups, singing, quarrel with the people for what they did to the deceased, and the dead ancestors are supposed to blame the living for not taking better care of the dead person when he was
alive. While this singing is going on, the chorus dances with spears [535
and knives to simulate a fight between the living and the dead. Once 533]
more the garma cycle of songs is sung. The people then clap their hands, symbolical of the Macassar drum, and finally the red cloud element in the garma sequence is sung to indicate that the ceremony is over.

The Grave Post.—The next day, or a few days after the burial, the 764
grave post is erected and a mast of a Macassar design is also placed 177
over the grave. Both the grave post and the mast are carried through the camp while a Murngin version of a Macassar prayer is said over it
and the chorus sing a response to the prayer. Food is begged from all 764
the members of the camp who are not participating as near relatives 302
in the ceremony. All the male relatives of the deceased who are later ceremonially to eat the food in ritual communion, paint themselves. The designs are those of the totem of the man who died, which usually means the totem of all the men engaged in the ceremony except those on the mother's side of the kinship group. When a Warumeri dies, for example, the men paint themselves as whales just as the dead body has been painted and as his totemic emblem and poles are painted. The post also announces to the ancestors that the body is buried beneath it.

765 [302] The bones, after they have been washed, are placed in the paper bark and at the end of the ceremony tied up into a bundle. After the cleansing ceremony is over the father and the two dués paint themselves with red ocher so that they "won't stink" (have the soul about them).

765 533 When the grave is opened the chorus sings canoe, then paddling, which is a signal for the old woman to come out with the symbolic spear-thrower while imitating a man paddling a canoe. The chorus then sings whale hunter, harpoon, and rope. At this time the other woman sticks the "spear" in the body. The body is a whale. The whale is the totem emblem for the Warumeri. Before a man was on the earth two Wongar men went to the totem well of the Warumeri and kept hitting and hitting and cutting it up. Cutting up the whale is next sung. At this juncture in the singing the two dués start cleaning the bones. Sometimes when the grave is being opened and the bones cleaned some of the chorus of men walk around the ground imitating the actions of a dog and others call out like curlews.

765 535 The mast is removed after the exhumation and burned. Each clan at this period in the garma song cycle dances a different animal or plant. Warumeri dance the whale, the Wangurri a split mangrove wood, the Djirin the turtle, and the Liaalaomir the snake. This is also supposed to help the spirit depart to the other land and to take him out of his own society.

765 When the bones have been placed in the paper bark and wrapped up they are put by one of the men in the fork of a tree a short distance from the camp. It is late evening when he returns from the tree where he has placed the bones. Several men carrying fire stick brands meet him and escort him back to camp. The keeper of the bones of the dead man has bushes tied on each arm or he holds them in his hands and crosses them so that the bushes are on his chest. On the edge of the camp a brush house has been made for him. He enters and stays for the night and sometimes for a short time longer. He is not allowed out. The mother of the dead man gives him food and water and takes care of him. "He is just the same as a son of that old woman."

765 302 Men gather water in melon shells and obtain a supply of red ocher to make ready for his reappearance. They approach the hut and sit on one side of the doorway, the keeper of the bones on the other. The man puts red ocher on himself with the aid of the water. He remains one or two, sometimes three days longer, to let the newness of the red ocher wear off. Sometimes he leaves the house and moves to an-

765 other house with some of his near relatives, and once more covers
302 himself with red ocher. Meanwhile the old house is burned. He then
returns and the people paint him as though he were going to be put
through the circumcision ceremony. All the other relatives paint themselves
with red ocher. This is particularly true of those in the patrilineal
line, but the mother and wife also cover themselves. After a
765 symbolical well is made, such as is described on page 419, the man who
is in charge of the bones is supposed to give food to all of the above
people.

He goes out and kills a supply of game; after it is cooked it is
placed in the well, which is symbolic of the dead man's well. All the
clansmen of the deceased also put in food. The man who is the keeper
of the bones and who has cleaned them takes a stick and cleans out his
finger nails into the hole. The finger nails are then cut off into the well.
"This is to clean off that rotten flesh from his fingers and put it into
the well." At this juncture of the ceremony, if the dead man is Yiritja,
● [533] white maggots are sung; they are supposed to be flying away. If the
man was Dua they sing the ants' larvae. Both songs symbolize change.
Only the clansmen and near male relatives of the dead man can eat
the food but everyone gathers about this communion.

The Hollow Log Coffin.—The keeper of the bones watches them for two or three months; then the brother of the dead man is supposed to go to him and tell him to bring the bones in. The bones are brought up to the edge of the camp, where red ocher is placed on them before they are ready to enter the main camp. The bones are placed in paper bark out in the sun and allowed to dry so that they will not smell and will have the odor of red ocher when they do arrive in camp. Frequently a small bark cylinder is made out of a stringy-bark tree and the totemic emblems of the dead man are painted upon it. The bark cylinder is really a preliminary coffin and is only smaller in size and lighter in material than the final hollow log receptacle in which the bones are placed at the end of the mortuary ceremony. The man who is carrying the bones at the time they are being painted at the edge of the camp puts red ocher on his arms and legs at the same time.

[533] The singing at this point is split mangrove stick, which is the home
for the mangrove fish, if the ceremony is Yiritja; if it is Dua, the singing
is salt-water turtle. The men sing cutting up the turtle and throwing
the bones away just as if the turtle were a man. They then dance
[535] mokoi, woman crying, and cockatoo, which are a part of the Nierk
mokoi ceremony. The bones are then placed inside of the bark cylinder

and male relatives are largely instrumental in setting the time for 765 taking the bones from the women and placing them in the log.

When it is decided that the bones are to be finally removed from the kin group the leader sends several men out into the bush to find a suitable tree. They go about tapping the various eucalyptus trees with their fingers until one has the right sound which indicates that the center of it has been almost completely eaten out by termites. The tree is cut down, the bark scraped off, the inside cleaned out thoroughly. It is then carried back to the edge of the camp and placed in a clump of bushes or behind a windbreak. Sometimes a house is made for it, much as if it were a totemic emblem. Forked sticks are set up in the house and the hollow log placed in them so that it will not be upon the ground. This treatment is exactly the same as that given the ranga trumpet in the Djungguan ceremony. Red ocher is now placed on the hollow log. The garma cycle of songs is sung when it is [533] put in the forked sticks. Yiritja sing a cycle beginning with the cloud and going through to the spider element in the sequence, which takes them from back in the bush with the spring flood to the sea; the Dua sing the land-way cycle.

The log is next carved into the proper shape. The log of each moiety has a different name. The Dua call theirs dai-mer-i, and the Yiritja, char-lum-bu. Eyes are cut into the top of the hollow log which are "all the same as the time when we see in the ocean eyes that belong to that hollow log." The lower section of the hollow log is divided into three parts: the upper third is the area where the sea fish are placed, the middle portion is where salt and fresh water meet and both types of fish are found, and the lower part is the land way where fresh-water fish only are found. In the late afternoon the men dance, 765 first salt water; then salt-water fish; the kingfish; the sea wind coming 535 after the kingfish has jumped in the water; the hollow log that comes from another country; the coconut floating in with the tide from other countries, which means that they are getting near the land where the fresh waters meet; and the tide coming in fast. All the men have on white clay; the women, who are dancing at a little distance, red ocher.

High tide is then danced, followed by low tide. Next in the sequence is people walking along the sea rocks looking for fish. They put their hands underneath the stones to find the fish and try to break the stones off with their feet. The men sit down in a ring with the two leaders sitting at one side, and the women stop their dancing. The 765 ring is the same as the rock pool. They then sing the tide returning 533

765 533 and everyone calls out the high water has covered up the rock. The leader sings he has caught a fish on a line and is carrying it to shore to take home. The tempo increases and the chorus is supposed to wash itself in the rock well water. The next song in the sequence is the talk of gathering fire wood to get the fish ready for eating, followed by the 765 535 eating of the fish and the sleepy feeling that comes from gorging oneself. The last dance is that a big sea takes this totem hollow log, and everyone sings that the water has carried the log away. The leader runs and is followed by the chorus. He calls out the power name of water, then the sacred names of the totem well. The sacred name of the hollow log is cried out, and the log planted in the ground in an upright position. All the women cry and wail for the dead man. Food is given by the women to the leader. It is placed near the hollow log coffin. The leader says, "This food is for the old old ancestors. Only we very old people can eat it. You middle-aged people and young men and boys cannot have any of it," which means that the fully initiated men are the only ones who can eat this totem food (marai-in, sacred, powerful; na-ta, food). The others get ordinary food which has no spiritual significance.

Before the bones are placed in the coffin they are broken up with a stone.[5] When the log rots away the bones are not burned but left to 688 decay. If an *outsider* should burn a hollow log with bones in it he would either be killed or threatened with death.

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[5] A man's or woman's bones are sent back to his clan's territory and preferably near the clan well. "We do this so that when that hollow tree and bones are burned when our people are burning grass when the dry season starts this tree and bones will be burned and they will go into the ground of their own country."

wrapped all over with feathered fiber string. Two feathered strings about 796
eight and one-half feet long, tipped with white cockatoo feathers, are attached to the top of the pole. Cockatoo feathers are also put in bunches at regular three-inch intervals along the pole.

The sharpened point is put in the ground while the pole is being used during the morning star (Barnumbir) ceremony.

Paintings.—Bark and rock paintings are made by the Murngin. The 532
inner bark of the eucalyptus is cut and straightened just as it would be to make a house, and the smooth side is used for the drawing. A smooth coating of red ocher is first put over the whole of the surface and various designs then placed on it. They range from purely geometrical drawings to extremely naturalistic ones. These bark drawings are used in the Ulmark ceremony. The favorite animal to depict is the snake, either as Yurlunggur or Muit. Kangaroo tracks and emu tracks are also favorites, as well as fish and emus. All of the geometrical designs are given meaning by the natives. There seems to be only one which has a universal meaning—the diamond-shaped pattern that is always associated with the honeybee. A possible explanation of this is that when the men in the Djungguan lie down in a line on their backs to dance honeybee, one man puts his arms up in back of him. The man behind him places his legs across the first man's arms so that the projecting legs and arms of the two men form a diamond-shaped pattern. All the men in the line do the same thing. Of course it is possible that the idea of the design gave the dancers the form of the dance.

The rock paintings are found in the rock shelters where the Murngin sometimes stay. One of the favorite paintings is the human hand. This is made by first covering the palm of a man's hand with red ocher and then pressing it against the rock wall with the fingers spread. The painter then fills his mouth with a white or yellow wash and blows it around the hand to form a white outline around the red palm and fingers. Other drawings are of a totemic nature.

APPENDIX III

MORTUARY CEREMONY AMONG THE WESTERN CLANS OF THE DUA MOIETY

THE mortuary cycle of songs used among the clans belonging to the Dua 764
side of the moiety division is the garma variety. The cycle is definite and 533
follows a fairly definite sequence, but the leader can make changes in the general order at his own discretion; he would not, however, violate the

general order of an introduction, main body, and conclusion. The ceremonial leader or head man of the clan leads the mourning song.

The following sequence of the cycle is sung:

(1) Stringy bark flower in full blossom.
This song is sung first because this flower, when it opens, has a "stare" about it which, say the natives, is like the glassy look in a man's eyes when he is dying and looking at his spirit.
(2) Stringy-bark tree.
(3) Dua honeybee.
(4) Flying phalanger.
(5) A black and white bird about the size of a mud lark which lives on the plains (gur-bor-duk).
(6) Locust or cicada (rirr-i rirr-i-ka).
"This is the same as the birimbir [spirit] of the dying man."
(7) Rain.
The locust has been listening for the rain to come.
(8) Small flat pebbles (war-ta-pan).
They are moved along by the rain when it strikes the ground.
(9) Stick insect (war-a-la war-a-la).
"This is all the same as the ghost of the dying man."
(10) Rock python (wir-tit).
Sung when the dying man is gasping for breath.
(11) White stone.
Sung when he stops breathing.
(12) Ur-re.
"That spirit is gone and the man is dead."
(13 Bush yam.
"This is the one that ran into the Mirrirmina well when it was profaned by the creator woman's menstruation blood. When you cook that yam, its blood comes out of it just the same as the blood did out of that woman."
(14) Rock python again.
"This means that the snake is taking the spirit into the Mirrirmina well."
(15) Stringy-bark tree.
(16) Rain.
"When Yurlunggur came that time he hit the stringy-bark tree with a stone hatchet and broke it to pieces [lightning]. The pieces flew to the sky and made a noise like the voice of a snake [thunder]. Then this rain came down [spittle of the snake]."
(17) A bird that starts singing when the wet season is coming (cou-cal gur-un-du-la).
"The first rains wet his feathers and he sings out for more rain."

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(18) Mortuary platform (gur-o gur-o ["house of the spirit"]). 764
(19) Blue-tongued lizard (dja-bak-a-lak). 533
"He is sung because he goes into the ranga well water."
(20) Finch (djir-kai).
(21) Mirrirmina totem well.
"This is because the spirit of the dead man has now gone inside his totem well."

When a man is considered dead, his relatives start digging a grave for him or preparing a platform for his body some distance from the main camp. While this is being done the sequence of songs is repeated.

The body is allowed to remain a few months in the grave or on the platform until the flesh is decomposed to a jelly-like substance. The flesh is then taken off the bones. While this is being done a new sequence of songs is sung: 765 533

(1) Fresh water pouring from a spring.
(2) Small fresh-water fish.
(3) Sea eagle which catches the fish (dimala).
(4) Pelican.
The pelican is sung because he has a bill which is like a net and catches the fish. "The fish are all the same as the soul of that dead man" (see accounts of the makarata). [825]
(5) A big plain.
"This is all the same as that water which came out of the spring which has come down from the hill country and the bush to the flat sea plain."
(6) Small sea bird which announces the water is near the sea.
(7) Fire to burn off the grass for the dry season.
(8) The darpa snake.
(9) Rain (waltjurn).
(10) Coucal gurundula.
This is a symbol of the wet season.
(11) Crow (wak).
The crow is a symbol of the beginning of the dry season and also of a ghost, "because he tries to pick up the bones of the dead man and he will eat anything." "This means that the people are getting ready to pick up the bones and the body smells." [825]
(12) Small fish.
This is the same song as that sung in the first part of this sequence; at this point paper bark is made ready for taking the bones out of the grave or from the platform. A Yurlunggur

765 trumpet is brought out and accompanies the singing sticks in the songs.

533 (13) Yurlunggur.

All the songs before this were the garma variety and could be sung in the general camp. Now the leader takes up the Djungguan song itself. Yurlunggur is blown over the bones just as over the initiates in the Djungguan ceremony. "Yurlunggur is trying to take the dead man's spirit to the totem well. 'You can come to me now,' he says."

765 While Yurlunggur has been trumpeting, the dué and galle (male) have tied up the bones in a paper-bark bundle. They take the bones and leave them back in the bush. They make a camp for themselves a short distance from the main camp and construct a special bush house in which to place the bones. Later—there is no specified interval of time—these relatives bring the bones back to the edge of the camp. Yurlunggur is supposed to come with them, which means that the totemic trumpet is brought out. The leader pours water on the two men (dué and galle), then covers them

765 with red ocher. While this occurs, a new sequence of songs is sung:

533 (1) Basket (that which is used for the bones).

(2) Tree (wood used for rangas).

(3) Mangrove where the catfish makes his spears.

(4) Catfish (bartna).

(5) Small fish again.

(6) Fresh water for washing.

(7) River water.

(8) The log trap placed in rivers for catching fish.

It is at this point that the men are painted with red ocher.

765 During the period in which the bones are left in the bush the women are told that the snake has swallowed them and taken them away with him. They are not told that the bones are in the hands of the men until the bones are turned over to the women to be carried by them until final disposal.

[783] The bath and red ocher for the men who have cleaned the bones and kept them in the bush are not only to take away the stench from the men, but also to remove their ceremonial uncleanliness. The parents of the dead

[431] always ask these relatives to perform the service of cleaning and keeping the bones, and in return for this service they give presents. The presents usually are the best, which means that the ranga is given. It will be noticed that the two, dué and galle, belong to one moiety and the dead man and his parents to the other; the exchange of services is across the moiety line.

765 The stench of the body which is upon the dué and galle is not different

775 from the sweat of a living man and just the same as the spirit itself. If

765 775 the men continued to smell this way it would be as though they had swallowed the spirit of the dead man.

765 533 When the bones are returned to the main camp the sequence of garma sung during the first part of the ceremony, when it is thought the sick man is about to die, beginning with the stringy-bark flowers and ending with the Mirrirmina well, is repeated. This is sung while the bones are taken out of the paper-bark basket and put in another one. Red ocher is put on the bones at this time, which "is the same as putting the spirit back in the well again." When the bones are being wrapped in the paper bark the small fish are once more sung. The bones are then left on the outside of the camp and the men go on to the men's ground and paint themselves. 765 535 They are supposed to be rock pythons. They then come outside to the main camp and dance the following sequence:

(1) Rain, which is the snake's spittle.
(2) Coucal gurundula.
(3) A meteor falling (djam-bu-la).
  This is the sign of a man dying and is looked upon as the departure of his spirit.
(4) Whirlwind (wa-kar), which is also a spirit.
(5) A particular kind of rain which means that the wet season has commenced.
(6) Coucal (again).
(7) Stringy-bark flower and tree.
(8) Honeybee flying.
(9) The stench of the dead man is to be put away in a hollow log coffin.
(10) The phalanger.
(11) They continue by dancing the stringy-bark-flower to Mirrirmina-well sequences of songs.

When the warala warala song is sung, two dancers bring out the marai yirri. This is like the spirit of the yam which ran into the sacred water hole and also like the spirit of the dead man. The two men are painted with patterns which represent the "string harness" of women. They are supposed to be women and also warala waralas. They carry the dead man's bones. The chorus of all the men stands on one side in a group and the two men facing them dance up and down before them. The men dance pretending they are going to take the bones away. The chorus pretends that it is trying to pull them back. They dance from the center of the camp to the edge of the bush while the leader calls out the sacred names of the totemic well. The chorus is supposed to win the contest, and the bones are then given to the mother or wife of the dead man. The women beat their heads and cry, frequently cutting themselves with stone knives.

765 The bones are circulated from the mother or wife to the other near female relatives of the dead man. Finally, after several months or possibly a year, the bones are given back to the brother or father of the deceased. They then may be put on the platform or placed in a hollow log coffin. If they are put on a platform several months elapse before they are taken down and finally placed in a hollow log.

When the bones are to be placed in the hollow log the women are ordered to gather a great quantity of bush food, preferably cycad nuts. The leader sends men out into the bush to select a tree hollowed out by termites. The bones are collected from the women and placed in a bush house at the edge of the camp beside the hollow log coffin. A marai yirri [202] is then made which is used as a message stick and sent to the other encampments of related clans to invite them to come to the final ceremony.

The men clean the bark off the log and carve it while the women prepare the dancing ground. This ground is of no particular shape. The coffin is painted with red ocher and the bones are once more given a coating of the same material. The symbol of the totem well is also painted on the bones. The leader then asks the women for the large palm-nut cake which they have prepared and takes it to the bush house. The women are not allowed [533] to come. The garma cycle of songs, beginning with stringy-bark flower and ending with the Mirrirmina well, is once more sung. When the men arrive at the white stone song the keeper of the bones picks them up. They then sing the lightning coming from the sky and hitting the tree. The bones are broken into small pieces and put into a paper-bark receptacle. The legs and arms are broken first, then the jaw bone. The skull is not broken to pieces at this time because the mother or some other near female [302] relative is supposed to keep it. All the men paint themselves with a snake pattern. The bones are then taken in a basket to the main camp and given to the women, who cry over them. They are told to look at them for the last time. They hit their heads and once more cut themselves to show their sorrow. The bones are then returned to the men's dance ground, where snake's spittle (rain), the rock python, and the totem well are sung again.

The bones are then dropped in the hollow log. The log is stuffed at both ends with bark to keep the bones from falling out and placed in the fork of a tree. A hole is then dug and the hollow-log coffin placed upright in the ground. This completes the final ceremony over the bones of the dead man among the western clans of the Dua moiety.

X 773 our own women so we can do as we please. We won't have any fooling with our mothers-in-law. No man likes to copulate with an old woman."

They all went back and stayed in their own country.

Bamapama Garma Ceremony from Marunga Island

The significant idea in the following ceremony is that the man belongs
796 to the Dua moiety and the woman is also a member of that division of the
● 533 tribe. This garma is used for the same occasions as the others. The song
831 sequence starts with (1) salt water, and the significance of singing the water of the ocean is that it is supposed to be carrying the coffin or hollow log into the native camp which has the deeper symbolism that the soul is being taken to the totem well. At the end of each song the name of the big well is called out and the chorus sings out "Yai!" The second song is the sea. Then follow: (3) small porpoise; (4) Marunga well country; (5) Marunga well country; (6) Marunga well country. All the above songs are sung while the men are transporting a large phallic emblem from the men's camp, where this garma totem is made, to the place within the general camp where the dance is held. The phallic emblem is painted with red ocher and colored generally as other totemic emblems are. The carving is done to show that the penis has been circumcised and also subincised.[3] The crowd of men dancers walk along with the phallic emblem. Frequently the hollow log coffin is also carried; sometimes this is designed for the final disposal of the bones of one of their members, or it may be merely a ritualistic observance.

The next dance is (7) porpoise; (8) man making a fish spear, is usually
796 performed as a solo dance with the chorus joining in; (9) the spear is
535 carried by Mar-ler-wer-ang-o, who is the Bamapama or trickster of the
Marunga people and is looked upon as a man with a large penis which
831 is symbolical of his lechery. The solo dancer who takes the part of Bamapama dances Bamapana with his spear watching the tide coming in. His spear is the phallic emblem. He is supposed to be extremely happy, and while he dances he calls out "Ha—ha—ha—ha," as he laughs to himself. He holds the phallic emblem up straight against his groin. He pretends to sneak up on a fish, spears and kills it, and breaks its head with his foot. The singer and dancer then take up the story of Bamapama when he sees two women come along the seashore just at sundown. They are supposed to be hunting little sea birds along the jungle edge on Marunga Island.

Marlerwerango or Bamapama sees them. He leaves the fishing and sneaks up on them. A man dances the part of the two women. The phallic emblem of Bamapama is thrust between the legs of the man as he stoops over symbolically to gather in the sea birds. While Bamapama does this he laughs uproariously. He then attempts to hide his phallic emblem but the two women see it because it is too large for him to hide. He then changes his tactics, raises it high in the air and shows it to them to frighten them. The group of people who are watching this dance are always extremely amused at this point and frequently some of them literally hold their sides with laughter. The two women leave, but he sneaks up on them and once more ritually has intercourse with them and again laughs and laughs. Even today one can see the holes in the ground which are the vaginas of the two women, and one can also see the stone phallus of Bamapama.

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[3] The Marunga people, in company with certain of the Goyder River people, practice subincision, although the subincision is not a ritual. The cutting is usually done by two young men who operate on each other.

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When Bamapama has finished his relations with the two women he takes a canoe, and at this point the chorus sings (10), canoe. He paddles hard and rapidly. The men's chorus imitates this with the movement of their spear-throwers. He arrives at a Marunga camp on Elcho Island. It is daylight there when he arrives and it has taken him all night to make this journey. He leaves the canoe and camps by the well which is out in the tidal flats. To indicate this (11), the name of the camp, is sung. The camp carries a number of meanings, according to native interpretation: "The Ding Ding people say, 'Mari, you try a song, we want to listen to you.' He sang his garma song. 'This one is mine,' he said. They said, 'No, that is wrong, that is for a ranga [high totem]. We'll show you the proper song.' They sang it then. He said, 'This one is a garma song. You look out for the ranga, I'll look out for the garmas. I'm going to get some food for you.' These people were his kutaras. When he said this, his kutaras sang the chorus of the Narra, and the Marunga man left them that song. 'All right, kutara, you can make rangas. We can start it but we want that Narra to go to you.' The two together sang Narra and called out the names of Marunga people because they were kutara and mari. Marlerwerango and the Ding Ding men sang, and the two Djunkgao women were there."

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House of Marlerwerango or Bamapama (12) is then sung, followed by (13) the picking of banyan tree fruit. The men dance the picking of the fruit that is found in the trees at the Marunga land of Elcho Island. They dance and sing fish net (14), which refers to the catching of the soul of the dead, and (15) a pelican catching fish. This again refers to the soul being caught, the fish being the soul and the pelican the sacred element.

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A small unidentified sea bird (16) ends the garma ceremony of the Marunga people. It must be stated that all the garma songs are capable of considerable variation; but each of them has a general pattern which is adhered to in any one of the dances which are given for the various garma occasions.

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(b) DEATH AND BURIAL

There are three important events in the life of every male aboriginal of 844
Arnhem Land—in fact, in the life of any tribalized Australian aboriginal: birth, 881
when he leaves the land of the spirits and enters the every-day world; initiation, 764
when he is admitted into the sacred or ritualistic world, where age makes him
increasingly important; and death, when he leaves the every-day world, and again 561
enters into the land of the spirits.

Although there are few rituals associated with birth, those of initiation and the later age-grading ceremonies are long and complicated, for it is by these ceremonies that men are admitted deeper and deeper into the secret life of the tribe.

At death, the burial rituals extend over many weeks, their purpose being not 764
only to send the spirit so happily to its future home that it will not be a danger [775]
to the living, but also to allow the living to adjust themselves to their loss.

The burial ceremonies at Yirrkalla have three main phases: (i) the ceremonies at death, (ii) the cleansing of the bones, and (iii) the final burial, after which
the spirit of the dead leaves for its aboriginal 'heaven'. If the dead are of the [616
dua moiety, the spirit goes to Purelko, and if of the *jiritja*, to Nalkuma. 775]

(i) *The Ceremonies at Death*

When a man dies his relatives gather round the dead body, wailing loudly, [152]
the women cutting their scalps with sharpened bones until the blood flows freely.
After a short period of wailing the men form a group apart from the women [533]
and chant the long series of songs which belong to the totemic group of their
dead companion. Next morning the men proceed with the rites of burial, first [302]
by rubbing red ochre over the body of the corpse, and on that painting his totemic design.[13] The men also make two bark effigies[14] which they put under the arms of the corpse. They explain to him that the effigies are his children, whom they have killed and placed beside him to prevent him being lonely and wishing to return to haunt the living. The corpse is then wrapped in a thick layer of paper-bark and tied with string.

While all this is being done, other men are erecting a platform of logs about 817
five feet in height and covering it with a layer of leaves. Then, while the men 764
chant another series of totemic songs belonging to the dead man, two aborigines

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[13] This totemic design is the same as that painted on his body during circumcision. See
body paintings associated with circumcision, Pl. 120. Warner (1937), pp. 415-16, in his description [304]
and interpretation of the mortuary rituals of the Murngin, an adjacent people, records that the totemic design is painted on the body of the dead man so that the spirits, or Mokoi, can identify him.

[14] Similar to the bark figures, Fig. 65C. D. Fraser (1936), p. 30, records: 'In Tahiti . . .
the priest took a number of small slips of plantain leaf-stalk, fixed two or three pieces under [171]
each arm of the corpse, placed a few on the breast, and then, addressing the corpse, said, "There are your family, there is your child, there is your wife, there is your father, and there is your mother. Be satisfied yonder (that is, in the world of the spirits). Look not toward those who are left in this world."'

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764 climb to the top of the platform and, taking the corpse from those below, lay it on the bed of leaves,[15] face upwards.

764 775 [534] As the two men descend, others blow a wooden trumpet informing the *Mokoi*[16] of the death, knowing that they will take the spirit from the locality for a time so that it will not be a danger to its living relatives. At the same time another man climbs a tall tree and makes a noise like the night-bird, *kawawak* (associated with the *Mokoi*).[17] As soon as the aboriginal in the tree hears the *Mokoi* coming (they make a coughing sound) he descends quickly and with the rest of the mourners runs quickly from the burial ground. This is done, not only to make the dead man's spirit go with the *Mokoi*, but because the *Mokoi*, particularly that of the newly dead man, are dangerous to the living.

(ii) *The Cleansing of the Bones*

764 For the next two or three months no one goes to the burial platform. When, however, putrefaction is complete, the maggots from the body have entered the ground and turned into blowflies, the aborigines meet to perform the second phase in the burial rituals, the cleansing of the bones.[18]

[533] Totemic dances belonging to the clan of the dead man are performed to the accompaniment of much singing, the beating of music sticks and the blowing of the wooden trumpet. The noise of these rituals is supposed to scare the spirit of the dead man and his ghostly attendants, the *Mokoi*, from the burial platform. The body is lifted from the platform or, if an earth burial, exhumed and a curious ritual performed over it, in which two men sit, one on either side of the corpse, whilst a third thrusts a spear into it, saying that he has speared a turtle.[19] The women, who have been sitting at one side, then come forward, take the skeleton apart, wash the bones in water and wrap them in paper-bark to remove the smell. At the end of three days the women unwrap the bones, rub them with red ochre and place them in a temporary bark coffin, on the outside of which the men have painted the totemic symbols of the deceased.[20]

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[15] If when a man dies there are only a few people present, the corpse is wrapped in paper bark and buried in the ground.

[774] 779 [16] The *Mokoi* (*jiritja*) and *Wona* (*dua*) are spirits living in the jungle, who are always seeking souls of the newly-dead for company. A dead person has two spirits, one, [illegible], which finally goes to a distant 'heaven' (p. 326) and one which stays on earth. The latter are the *Mokoi*. (See Warner (1937), p. 416; also p. 330.) There are, however, many kinds of *Mokoi*, and our information about them is very limited.

[17] See ceremonial staff of *kawawak*, Pl. 136E.

[18] See description of bark coffins, p. 317.

[19] The significance of this ritual is obscure. Warner (1937), p. 415, refers to it. A similar ritual is supposed to be carried out at Purelko, the final resting place of the *dua* dead, p. 325.

[77] [20] Evans (1936), p. 5, mentions that, 'In Misol, a small island to the north-west of New Guinea. . . . the body, wrapped in clothes, is deposited on a scaffold built for it in the forest. From time to time the relations come to inspect the corpse until decomposition is complete. The skeleton is then brought to the place, generally a cave, where the bones of all the dead inhabitants of the village are collected.' This is a similar burial custom to that carried out by the aborigines of north-eastern Arnhem Land and might well be the source from which the Arnhem Land custom originated.

danced again, and the snake came closer. In fear the two sisters retired to their hut, 773
and the monstrous snake coiled around it and put his head through the opening. He sprayed water over them, so that they became slippery and soft for swallowing; then he proceeded to swallow the baby, the mother and finally the younger sister.

This is of course only the main theme; the original version and song cycle is very long and detailed, and instead of the blood from after-birth, it is menstruation blood that attracts the snake.

The *'Wauwɔlak* myth and sacred songs are known to both men and women, but 773
the ritual and part of the ceremony is for men only, and is held away from the camp.[13] 533
However, certain associated ceremonies (e.g. the *'dzuŋgəwɔn*) are performed in the 562
main camp, where conventionalized posts are placed to symbolize the *'Wauwɔlak*
Sisters, around which women dance. In the north-eastern corner of Arnhem Land, as in other parts along the coast, women are acquainted with much of the sacred life, but may not discuss it. It is said that they originally monopolized all sacred ritual and dogma, and relinquished this right only when their ceremonial objects were stolen by the men. There is also an "outside" or secular song-cycle dealing with the ordinary adventures of these two sisters, which is sung in the camp and to which women dance.

But the carved figures illustrated here are used as *'raŋga* objects, in the same 196
way as the sacred *'maraiin* painted and feathered-string-decorated poles of *'Dzaŋgəwɔl*. 778
These are kept in a temporary storehouse out near the dancing ground, and shown to
fully initiated men.[14] The original artist who has made the figure enters the hut; 533
outside, the postulants are sitting or standing with faces turned away. The song-man begins to clap his sticks and the others are led up to look upon the sacred object. Finally, when the singing is completed, the designs on the figure are explained and discussed. At times, during the showing of the object, the figure may be held ritually by an actor who writhes on the ground like the python who swallowed the sisters.

What the *'Dzaŋgəwɔl* is to the *'du:a*, *'Laintjuŋ*[15] is to the *'jiritja*: he is the most 776
important of all the *'jiritja* Ancestral Beings, and is highly sacred. He came out of 616
the sea, emerging from the waters like a giant stone from the receding tide, at 773
'Du:wɔn'miliŋwu, near Blue Mud Bay. His body bore variegated water-marks 532
(*'ra:ŋ*) that formed patterns. In the figure illustrated, the totemic designs (belonging to a number of *'jiritja* clans) painted on its body are water-mark patterns.

Now *'Barɔma*,[16] a *'jiritja* man, saw *'Laintjuŋ* for the first time as he stood on the 773
beach, leaning on a sacred *'raŋga* yam stick, and was surprised to observe these watermarks.

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[13] This with many details is an enactment of the above myth; i.e. in the *'dzuŋgəwɔn* and *'kunapipi*.

[14] Those who have gone through the *'Dzaŋgəwɔl* rituals.

[15] The name *'Laintjuŋ* means "white cloud from the sea," signified by the white face in the figure illustrated.

[16] Called also *'Bilmaŋdjuŋ*, derived from sacred beating sticks (called *'bilma*).

776 *'Kultana* belongs to the *'Gumaitʃ'mata* (language) group near Port Bradshaw, but this spirit and his wife seem to have other spheres of influence outside their home 115 territory. For example, *'Kultana* also lives on an island called *'Mɔ:dilya*, north of the Wessells, and lights large fires of grass and " rubbish " to attract spirits of the dead on their way to *'Ba:du*. The male *'Kultana*, when he is not supervising the journeying spirits, hunts for stingray in the shallow waters of the mangrove swamps, and scratches his mosquito bites; while his wife gathers wood, collects jungle-fowl eggs, and generally spends her time in the jungles fringing the beach. There are no actual ceremonies associated with these *'Kultana*, although there is some secular [533] mortuary dancing; but there are both sacred and camp songs related to their adventures and general behaviour.

'Murɔru:ma is the " Turtle " Man from Bremer Island (at one time called Melville 776 Island), and is associated with *'du:a 'Ri:rədʒiŋu 'mata* secular and sacred life; he, 773 his wives and his sons, *'Daŋədʒi:ɔna* and *'Wuralwural*, are immortalized particularly 533 in an elaborate song cycle sung in the camp, while *'Murɔru:ma* himself plays only a subsidiary part in the sacred songs. However, to the *'Ri:rədʒiŋu* speaking group he is an important being, connected with the principal physical features of their country, which is localized around Yirrkalla. The myth itself deals with his turtle hunting, 773 the murder of his *'jiritʃa 'Wɔnguri* wife (he had other wives, belonging to the *'Lamɔmɔri*, *'Warɔmɔri* and *'Gumaitʃ* speaking clans), and consequent feuds arising from this killing. His wife was killed because she wished to have nothing to do with her husband, refused his sexual attentions, and wanted to return to her own country. He killed her by inserting his knife in her vagina, and slitting her upwards to the throat. A revenge expedition on the part of the dead wife's family succeeded in killing *'Murɔru:ma* at Melville Bay, on the mainland.

'Murɔru:ma's two sons, who were living at Bremer Island, came with their friends to the point of land opposite Bremer, near Yirrkalla; there they saw the spirit of *'Murɔru:ma*, but believing him to be a human being they were glad, as they had not heard of his death. Coming close to him, they saw him disappear; and looking out to sea they saw a big rock which they knew must be his spirit. They spoke among themselves, saying that they would avenge his death. The rest of the myth concerns several killings and other details too numerous to present here.

[532] These carved figures, whether they be the realistic or conventionalized (i.e. 778 as the " post " figure, Plate I, Figure 4) representations, are used as *'raŋga* objects, in much the same way as are the sacred (*'maraiin*) painted and feathered-string-decorated 796 poles of *'Dʒaŋgɔwɔl*, *'Laintʃuŋ*, *'Banaitʃa*, *'Wauwɔlak* etc. They are kept in a storehouse near the ritual dancing ground and shown to initiated men.[26] The original artist who has made the figure enters the hut; outside, the postulants sit or stand with averted heads. The song man begins to beat his sticks, and the others are led up to look upon the sacred object. Finally, when the singing is completed, the

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[26] Those who have gone through a series of *'maraiin* ceremonies, but may not yet have been admitted to the viewing of certain sacred *'raŋga*.

It seems then that the Gunabibi (Kunapipi) as Professor Warner 177
saw it after coming through the Rainbarngo and being amalgamated
with the Wauwalak, did not necessarily diffuse east to Melville and 773
Arnhem Bays, though the Wauwalak myth may have done so. It is 796
more likely that it spread there up the coast from the Rose River country; ultimately the "distributing" tribe was the same, the Rembaranga (Rainbarngo) and the fusion with the Wauwalak on the upper Goyder may have occurred before the Kunapipi reached Blue Mud Bay.

In 1946, while at Roper River Mission, I was given a detailed myth of the movement of the Mumuna (or Kunapipi group) and the ritual (with no trace of the Wauwalak myth) from Blue Mud Bay south along the coast to the Roper River, which was crossed about thirty
miles from its mouth, and shortly after, a Wadiri-Anyula man gave [115]
me an account of the journey of *Gilyeri-gilyeri maru-abana*, the Travelling Woman, from the Roper, near the junction of the Limmen, and of the spread of the ritual, through the Alawa and on and on to Lake Woods and Newcastle Waters. Here the ritualists linked up with the route of diffusion from the Lower Victoria River through the Mudbara tribe and by Battle Creek.

This, incidentally, completed the circle of the Kunapipi route, for a study of the rituals and myths and traditions show that it also spread from the Victoria River east through the Wadman, Yangman and Mangarai territory and thence north to the Rembaranga, and on to Blue Mud Bay, and thence, as we have seen, south to the lower Roper, and so on to Newcastle Waters.

At the present time, too, some of the Kudjika songs of the Kunapipi of the Roper River side, which I heard at the Elsey, are on their [533]
way south-west through Warlock Ponds and then eventually to Wave Hill, west of Newcastle Waters, and on even to Wyndham, that is, to East Kimberley.

The doctrines are still very real to the initiated Mangarai, whom 773
I have come to know during the past three years. We talk about the
myth or ritual; we mention the sacred key and pass words referring 796
to the "Mother", the bullroarer, the Yalmanindji, the "river" and 171
"billabong" (womb) on the ritual ground, or we repeat the words of
the chants: but let anyone pass by even thirty yards away and out of [123]
earshot—the subject is dropped immediately, until that person has really gone by. And how interesting it is to hear on the Roper almost the same ritual words as obtain at Yirrkalla, and then to hear them again from Djauan and southern Rembaranga and others on the Mainoru, south of Bulman Gorge, and 100 miles west again not far from the Waterhouse! When I arrived at the latter place in September, 1948, a Kunapipi ritual had been completed only a few days before. I saw the headman and others who participated. There, too, was the Kanalina and the Anggorna (Nanggoru) with the

PREFACE

The main purpose of this work is to indicate some fundamental features of an Australian Aboriginal religious cult, the Kunapipi, in 121 one particular area. North-eastern Arnhem Land has been selected, not because it presents a more exotic background or more spec- 794 tacular ceremonies, but because the cult as seen here is fairly well defined, and because its religious concepts are important and significant to the people concerned. In this region there are several fairly well integrated religious cults, having a common theme and fundamental intent. Most of them, however, have complex local associations, whereas the Kunapipi ceremonies, which have been introduced into north-east Arnhem Land, belong to a configuration which is still widely diffused throughout the Northern Territory.

The plan is to examine the cult as seen in this one region, to consider its relative importance in adjacent areas, and so prepare the 121 way for a more intensive analysis of it in the central-western part of the Northern Territory. 177 Although introduced, the Kunapipi has become closely associated with more truly north-east Arnhem Land mythology, in particular, the Wauwalak, which is used to explain it; but the Wauwalak mythology itself was at some time diffused into north-eastern Arnhem Land, apparently from the same direction as this much later ritual.

The Kunapipi songs of Yirrkalla (in north-east Arnhem Land) have been derived from those commonly in use further south. [533] By examining relevant songs and mythology of adjacent areas, it is possible to trace the movement and diffusion of this cult from one group to another, and to discuss (for instance) the source of the Yirrkalla Kunapipi. This is not really difficult, for the Kunapipi (in all the regions mentioned in this work) possesses the common theme of a Great Mother, expressed as either a single or a dual personality, [776] her power being extended to her daughters, the Wauwalak, Ka'lerika'lering or Mungamunga. She is said to be responsible for the constant fertility of human beings and other natural species, and the [842] continuing sequence of the seasons, as well as for the general similarity of her ritual, emblems and songs. In addition, certain "key" words, which are sacred, are used widely to designate ceremonies, [192] objects and sacred beings. 771

What does this cult mean to its postulants? Why does it exist? 794 What do the people themselves believe that they are receiving from 796 it? Its basic intent seems to express the latent or conscious desires of 121

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tion of other natural species—all phenomena which are necessary for 771
the continuance and well-being of the people themselves. In keeping 789
with this doctrine, a natural development has been the stress on pro- 794
creation—the importance of pregnancy and child-birth, and the 794
essential sequence of sexual intercourse and conception, expressed [842]
particularly in ritual and long song cycles.

In order to understand Kunapipi cult life and belief, it is necessary to summarize very briefly some of the other cults which flourish beside it in this area.

The Djanggawul myth, consisting of several hundreds of lengthy 773
songs, relates the adventures of two men and two women, who in [533]
the Dreaming Period landed at Port Bradshaw, on the north-east
Arnhem Land coast. They had journeyed across the sea from an
island called Bralku, now known as the *dua* home of the dead, some-
where beyond Groote Eylandt. These Ancestral Beings are known
generally as the Djanggawul, but had their own personal names.
The leader was Djanggawul himself; the two women were his
sisters, the younger Maralaitj, and the older Pildjiwuraroiju; and
their companion was Bralbral, who plays only a minor part in this
great cycle. In their canoe they brought a large conical *ngainmara* [778]
mat, which is now used particularly by the women, and also certain
sacred *rangga* sticks possessing life-giving qualities. The mat sym- [831]
bolized the uterus; the *rangga* sticks were penes, and when not being
used ritually, were kept hidden in the *ngainmara*.

As the Djanggawul journeyed along the coast, they met other
Ancestral Beings like Laintjung and the Baijini, and Spirits such as [776]
Pomapoma, Kultana, Woijal, Burulu-burulu and others; but none
of these had the procreating powers of the great Djanggawul.
Djanggawul had an elongated penis; and his two sisters had long [831]
clitori which dragged on the ground as they walked. Djanggawul had
sexual relations with his sisters, so that they were continually preg-
nant. From time to time, at the camps where they stayed, he would
lift their clitori to one side, and put his hand up into the uteri to
remove many children of both sexes: these were the ancestors of the
present aborigines. The song cycle features the perpetual pregnancy 773
of the two sisters, their uteri being likened to the *ngainmara* mats 533
which they brought with them, while the people who are removed
from them in childbirth are the *rangga*. It is said that a person's
bones are like *rangga*, inherited from both the father and mother, [827]
who in turn inherited theirs through the generations of ancestors,
right back to the Eternal Times of Djanggawul and the creative
heroes. Therefore, at death, a person's material remains, as well as [764]
his spiritual substance, must be treated with respect, and surrounded
by ritual.

An important aspect of this myth, second only to the theme of 773
fertility, concerns the institution of sacred ritual. In the beginning, 796

however, the people to whom Laintjung had given his sacred designs 616
and *rangga* were sorry for what they had done, and made the "like- 773
ness" of Banaitja in paperbark bound on a framework of cane. The
influence of Laintjung and Banaitja, in spite of their importance, did [171]
not cover such a wide area as that of some other Ancestral Beings;
and the aborigines account for this by explaining that Banaitja
"was killed at an early age, before he had the opportunity of travelling widely throughout this region".

Most of the great religious myths of this region are associated
with the *dua* moiety, the more conservative section; it is the *jiritja* [177]
which embraces new and "alien" ideas and activities. From time to 773
time, fully-initiated *dua* and *jiritja* men are shown the "high" 616
rangga, and through the years they become increasingly familiar
with the complex ritual. This admission to sacred knowledge, how- 561
ever, is not thought comparable to an initiation or age-grading 796
ceremony: it is more in the nature of a revelation through which they become acquainted with the inner substance of religious thought and expression. The *dua* Wauwalak myth, on the other hand, is of general importance, and is associated with the three sacred "age-grading" ceremonies of this north-eastern region. There is also much sacred ritual not concerned with age-grading. Both *dua* and *jiritja*
men take part in this, and it incorporates some purely *jiritja* songs [533] ●
belonging to separate cycles.

The two Wauwalak sisters are associated with the concept of 773
fertility, owing mainly to their connection with birth, after-birth 796
blood, and menstruation. The latter receives a great deal of atten-
tion in Yirrkalla thought. Aboriginal women are all potential [841]
Wauwalaks; and a great deal of their behaviour, particularly at puberty, and when menstruation ceases at pregnancy, is said to be based on that of the Two Sisters. The Wauwalak myth is most important to these north-eastern Arnhem Landers, and they make frequent references to it. It has, as mentioned, far more general application than have the Djanggawul and Laintjung cycles; and the three separate ceremonies which concern it here are each of a different nature. The commonest is the *djunggawon*, used primarily for
initiation; ideally, it extends over a couple of months, and includes, [881]
in addition to circumcision and camp dancing, a certain amount of ritual which is not fully revealed, as in the case of the Djanggawul. The second of these three ceremonies is the *kunapipi*, which will be dealt with in the following chapters. The third is the *ngu:rlmak* ceremony, performed to-day only at rare intervals. It is considered to be far more important than either the *djunggawon* or the *kunapipi*, but less so than the Djanggawul and Laintjung *dua* and *jiritja nara* rituals.

There are also a number of subsidiary ceremonies, related in some degree to these two main cycles, but not by any means so outstanding.

For example, the Kunapipi held at Yirrkalla is essentially similar to 184
that held at Birrundudu (towards the Western Australian border in
central-western Northern Territory). There is the spasmodic use of 794
bullroarers; the sacred ground itself is the uterus of the Mother; a 796
sacred well (*nanggaru*) is dug on the dancing ground; a crescent-shaped trench (*kanala*) is made later; *jelmalandji* "posts" are erected, immense structures symbolizing the Pythons; there is the exchange of wives and gifts, with ceremonial intercourse; and the forked posts, called the *djepalmandji*, are used towards the termination of the rituals. These are features of all Kunapipi, Kalwadi and Kadjari ceremonies.

A word may be said too of the songs that are used in the Yirrkalla- 184
Rose River Kunapipi Cycle.[8] These are mostly of the short conven- 533
tional type common throughout most of Aboriginal Australia,[9] and
their words serve as "key" patterns suggesting and inferring ideas, 794
rather than providing detailed description. This form of song 796
structure is, like the Kunapipi, alien to north-eastern Arnhem Land, where usually songs are very lengthy, description is detailed and repetitious, and separate cycles contain several hundreds of songs (or verses). Secular and magico-religious *tjarada* love songs, which are often associated incidentally with the sacred Kunapipi (for they are sometimes connected with the Mungamunga), have also found [177]
their way up through Rose River to north-east Arnhem Land, and have retained their own song-structure against much local opposition from semi-indigenous forms.[10]

The major theme in all Kunapipi ritual is the natural cycle of 794
reproduction and fertility. Fertility, as expressed in reproduction,
seasonal fluctuation, periods of plenty and scarcity, is symbolized 796
in the ceremonies associated with animals, birds and plants, their 831
mating, copulating and bearing offspring in their proper seasons.
The essential factor of mating and copulating, as a step towards 776
reproduction, is crystallized in ceremonial copulation on the sacred ground. And ever present, "eternally" watchful and omnipotent, is the Great Mother, the essence of fecundity, in whose divine power rests the strength to animate and increase both human beings and the natural species. The performance of rituals attracts her interest, and brings into motion her protecting influence, which ensures a continuation of the world that her neophytes know, and the unbroken sequence of the seasons upon which they depend for their livelihood.

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[8] *Vide* Chapters VII and VIII of this work.

[9] R. Berndt, A Wonguri-Mandjikai Song Cycle of the Moon Bone, *Oceania*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, pp. 16-50.

[10] *Vide* R. Berndt, *Love Songs of Arnhem Land*. In this work a Rose River Love Song Cycle and the *tjarada* are detailed and discussed.

the men's duplicity. This is particularly apparent in the Djanggawul 562
myth (*vide*, for example, Chapters I and IV). Merely because they do 773
not join in certain of the most sacred mysteries, women do not feel 794
"left out" of things, or pushed aside into what has been termed by
some writers a profane existence, with attendant feelings of inferi- 796
ority. On the contrary, they realize that they have a supplementary function in maintaining camp dancing, and answering the men's ritualistic calls from the sacred ground. It is necessary, for instance, that they prepare food for the men at such times, and observe certain
tabus. [424] A woman must know her own totemic clan songs, inherited from her father, and to a lesser extent those of her mother, and be able to sing them on appropriate occasions. She must know the correct dance movements and steps to accompany the men's singing in the "outside" ceremonies, as well as in the sacred rituals where she has her own part to play. There is no jealousy of the men's performances alone on the sacred ground. The men, so women say, are performing these ceremonies not only for themselves, but for all
the people in general. This is simply a normal extension of the [462]
sexual division of labour and activity.

* * * *

The story of the Wauwalak is rarely told in prose by a story-teller 533 ●
of this region. Usually it is transmitted from one group of men to
another, through the generations, in ritual, accompanied by explana- 779
tions, on the ceremonial ground. Moreover, the whole myth is related in the sacred "inside" Wauwalak cycle of some hundreds of songs, in two main series: the "inside" Bush cycle, and the "inside" seaside cycle, each describing in detail the adventures of the Sisters. There are also the "outside" (secular) Bush and seaside cycles, sung in the main camp to the dancing of women: these continue the story, and reveal many aspects of the myth. Each one of these songs is representative of the very best in native poetry,[1] which it is not possible to set down in the bare general translation presented here.

The Wauwalak myth begins in a region usually unidentified (*vide* 171
Chapter IX), said vaguely to be somewhere south in the "Bush".
This means, perhaps, that the Wauwalak sisters came from the direc- 773
tion of the Roper River, the hypothetical home of the Kunapipi 776
Mother and her two daughters, the Mungamunga. In any case, the Wauwalak came northwards at an early period, towards the mainland opposite the Crocodile Islands (that is, near Milingimbi), bringing with them the rituals of the *djunggawon* and *ngu:rlmak*. Then the myth itself became to some extent localized in northern Arnhem Land. It is on the mainland south of Milingimbi that the most sacred totemic sites connected with the Wauwalak are found;

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[1] This is reserved for a detailed study of the Wauwalak Cycle in relation to the *djunggawon* and *ngu:rlmak* ceremonies.

796 The ceremony begins when messengers are first sent out to the
various camps to notify other groups, and when the chosen initiates
[203] (young boys who have gone through the *djunggawon* age-grading
[561] ceremony) are taken away from their home camp. But it may be
some time before the more serious parts of the rituals can commence.

In the meantime, while awaiting the visitors, the *dua* headmen and
796 the Kunapipi leader go out from the main camp and make a cere-
778 monial ground or "centre" (that is "Sandy" or "Sunday") place;
this entails the clearing of a ground which the men are in the habit of
[534] using for such a purpose. The Kunapipi leader makes a bullroarer,
its cord attached to a stick by which it will be swung; its painting and
● [533] anointing with blood (as described above) are accompanied by singing.

Some time afterwards, the first Kunapipi ceremony takes place in
796 the main camp, "to let the women know that it is beginning". Men
533 sing "outside" Wauwalak and "outside" Kunapipi songs which
summarize preceding events, while the women dance. These are
535 called *gudambiri*, or ordinary secular dances; although they do not
pretend to be really sacred, they are nevertheless most important, for
they put everyone into the mood for the coming rituals. Non-sacred
garma (or clan songs) are also sung and danced. These may continue
for weeks before the main rituals commence: but towards the end,
the men, women, and children sing the "outside" Kunapipi songs
with their rapid rhythm.

Out in the bush on the sacred ground[4] a man swings the bull-
796 roarer. There is a hush; the deep-throated sound of Julunggul is
[534] heard by all in the camp. In answer, the Kunapipi leader calls, fol-
lowed by the cries of all the women: "they cry out just like those two
Wauwalak, for Julunggul is sneaking towards the camp, as he did
towards the *murlk*". *Jiritja* men answer, too, symbolizing *jiritja*
snakes.

796 Almost immediately after this, the *jiritja* men take out the young
881 boys to meet the Julunggul (that is, if they have not been sent away
to other camps; if they have gone, this part of the ceremony takes
place when they return, with the visitors who are to participate).
[302] The boys have been smeared with red-ochre and arm blood and,

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[778] [4] The sacred ground is in the shape of a triangle. This is similar to the *djunggawon* dancing ground, and is said to resemble Julunggul's body. One side of the elongated triangle is classified as *dua*, and the opposite side as *jiritja*; but this is only for ritual purposes. At the apex of the triangle a hole is dug, symbolizing Muruwul: this is the *nanggaru*. The "inside" meaning of this triangular dancing place is said to be the Mother's uterus: men go into the uterus for rituals. This conforms to the meaning of the ground in other regions, for example, in western-central Northern Territory. The Kunapipi ground is arranged differently from that of the *djunggawon*, but retains its fundamental shape.

796 moving up and down with the swell of the water. The two actors
dance towards the *jelmalandji* and the boys, holding carved wands
292 that represent the pandanus shoots. They move forward slowly,
535 their "pokiti" slightly waving, like the pandanus gently swaying in
881 the calm swirl of the "spring" waters. When their actions are quickened their heads shake violently, and this is the pandanus rustling and bending in the strong "spring" waters[7] resulting from the rains sent by Julunggul. The feathers at their apex are the snakes' heads, appearing between the pandanus clumps.

When they reach the *ba'uma* both actors kneel and are surrounded by the singing and stick-beating leader and other participants. They shake their "pokiti" until these become loose, and the leader knocks them off and rubs himself against the actors (that is, he is spiritually one with the totemic dancers). The young boys, and others who are not fully conversant with Kunapipi ritual, as well as visitors, are rubbed against the "pokiti" or against the decorated down on the actors' bodies; this contact transfers "power" (or the sacred essence of the Dreaming) from one to the other. Then the sacred *bukali* "power" (invocation) names are called over the actors, while they shake themselves, to the accompaniment of the beating sticks. Other dances follow, most of which concern the things seen by the Wauwalak at Muruwul.

Next comes the *djamala marciin*, or ritual fire-throwing. The term
796 *djamala* serves as an important link in all Kunapipi rituals, here and
372 elsewhere, for although it has lost its real significance at Yirrkalla it
still includes the throwing of fire-brands. In central-western North-
881 ern Territory, for example, Kunapipi ritual is divided into morning (day) and evening (night) ceremonies, the former termed *wilbibi* and the latter *djamalara* (*djamala* being a variation).[8]

In the Yirrkalla version of the Kunapipi, the throwing of firesticks by older men across the sacred ground, and over the *ba'uma* in which the boys sit, symbolizes the lightning sent by Julunggul; the Snake flashes the lightning over the camp in which the Sisters are resting.

Then two actors dance forward, representing the Wauwalak Sis-
796 ters; one has a paperbark pad which is the "child". From one side
881 of the ground another actor appears; he is the Julunggul Snake, and moves slowly forward towards the "women", until he reaches

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[192] [7] These strong waters are called secularly *ka'lela*, or in sacred speech *gumanggaul*: the latter word is a corruption of the term *gunugu*, which is of very general use in the central-western Northern Territory Kunapipi. For a further definition see Chapters X and XI.

[8] For a further example of the widespread use of this word, see R. and C. Berndt, *Sexual Behaviour in Western Arnhem Land*, Chapter IV, Section X. In that area it has been corrupted to *djama:lak* or *jamalak*, and refers to a secularized promiscuous ceremony. Real *djamalara* singing includes some of
[533] the most beautiful sacred rhythms in Aboriginal Australia.

Chapter Four

THE DJANGGAWUL SONGS

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533 538 THE songs of the *dua nara* include some of the most beautiful literary efforts of Aboriginal Australia. They are poems set to traditional tunes, outlining the activities of the Djanggawul. In essence, they represent the original songs sung by these Ancestral Beings in the Dreaming Times; but through the ages they must have undergone a certain amount of alteration, a process to which they are vulnerable on account of their length. This is not to suggest that their content has necessarily been distorted, but merely that, through the course of generations in a non-literate society, they have not come down to us with exactly the same form and content as when they were sung by the Djanggawul.

538 The songs of north-eastern Arnhem Land, of which some examples have been set out elsewhere,[1] have a unique place in Aboriginal Australia, for they are longer and expressive of greater detail than those found in other areas. In structure and approach they differ from those of, for instance, southern Arnhem Land,[2] or Central-Western Northern Territory.[3]

538 182 These songs are poetry in their own right, and express the spirit of the culture to which they belong as, perhaps, no other

[1] See R. Berndt, 'A Wonguri-Mandjikai Song Cycle of the Moon Bone', *Oceania*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, pp. 16–50; 'Badu, Islands of the Spirits', *Oceania*, Vol. XIX, No. 2, pp. 93–103; C. Berndt, 'Expressions of Grief Among Aboriginal Women', *Oceania*, Vol. XX, No. 4, pp. 286–332, and 'A Drama of North-Eastern Arnhem Land'.
Also see R. Berndt, *Love Songs of Arnhem Land*, for publication.

[2] *Vide* R. Berndt, *Kunapipi*, Chapters VII, VIII, X, XI.

[3] C. Berndt, *Women's Changing Ceremonies in Northern Australia*, L'Homme, 1950.

medium can do. In this respect they are inseparable from that 538
culture, expressing as they do something of the Aborigines' sense
of the beautiful, their feeling of strength and sureness in the essential 182
goodness and vividness of their own way of life. This is an important
point, for as these poetic songs stand to-day they represent the
achievement, not of individual men or women, but of the community
as a whole. Moreover, this achievement does not belong
to any one era, but is the culminative result of centuries of effort—
how many, we shall probably never know.

The songs are an integral part of the Djanggawul myth and of 733
its ritual, for these three elements are interdependent. The 538
Djanggawul myth, as set out in Chapter 2, is rarely told by a
story-teller; it is, rather, sung out, in the manner of the songs 533
presented here and in following chapters. What is more, no *nara*
ritual is performed without the accompaniment of these songs.

These songs are not merely traditional; they are also sacred, 538
because each is essentially of divine 'composition'. They set out
to describe in detail all the incidents that took place during the 533
wanderings of the Djanggawul, from the time they left their spirit 778
home at Bralgu until they reached the neighbourhood of Milingimbi.[1]
There is a certain amount of repetition, beloved of the
Aboriginal song man; there are 'inside' and 'singing' words,
alternatives to those in everyday use, and a wealth of symbolic
allusions. The language of the songs is not archaic or highly [182]
specialized, as found in some areas in reference to sacred singing,
but is for the most part the ordinary language spoken by the
people. This is interspersed with occasional sacred words, 'singing'
words, or invocations used only in this context; but essentially
the songs are constructed in such a way that all may understand
them. They are sung according to a defined traditional
rhythm, the words being abbreviated, lengthened or elaborated
to meet the requirements of the tune, while the development
of the theme proceeds graphically with the help of considerable
detail.

These Djanggawul songs express the essence of ceremonial 533
behaviour, and of the relevant mythology, and through them we 182
understand the significance of the *dua nara* and of the Djanggawul
cult. To appreciate them fully, it is necessary to understand thoroughly
both the ritualistic background and the mythology, in conjunction
with other facets of the cultural pattern of this area. While the
song is in progress, participants and onlookers alike are reminded of
the intent of the ritual—but not of that intent alone, for these sacred

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[1] As mentioned elsewhere, this journey is extended in the Milingimbi version of the Djanggawul cycle.

The Djanggawul Songs

533 songs are possessed of a sacred power peculiar to the Djanggawul.[1]

The songs, since they 'belong' to the divine Beings, give the ritual
182 an atmosphere of reality, in the sense of veracity, and a deep consciousness of affiliation and continuity with these Beings themselves. Sacred songs, sung on the ceremonial ground by hereditary leaders, in conjunction with ritual and dancing, and in the presence of religious symbols or emblems, vividly reflect and re-inspire the religious emotions of all who hear them.

The songs presented here are translations, and have inevitably
126 suffered in the process. To appreciate all the subtle turns of phrase,
538 the abundant allusions and so on, one should read them in the
128 original, interlineally translated, in conjunction with copious notes.[2] It is only through understanding of the language that we can derive the fullest benefit from these songs.

Nevertheless, we have adhered strictly to the literal translation of all words in the songs, endeavouring to retain the beauty of the original. Difficulty has been experienced, however, in finding satisfactory English equivalents for certain words. The translation errs, perhaps, on the side of restraint, for many of the English words used (unlike those in the Aboriginal text) may appear prosaic and lacking in poetic value. The different words referring to sounds of various kinds, for instance, are not easy to transcribe: and 'noise' is a poor, although often necessary, substitute.

No attempt has been made to conform to the original rhythm and metre, since this would involve manipulating the translation at the expense of its actual content. The arrangement into lines conforms to the pauses made by the Aborigines themselves when singing or reciting.

128 Comments or notes are not attached to each song, as in the case of the originals, but any points that seem to need discussion have been referred to in the section immediately following each part of the cycle. For convenience, and to facilitate the gradual development of our analysis, we have set out ten parts to this epic, corresponding to various stages in the travels of the Djanggawul.

As the songs progress, from one stage to another, we may follow the symbolism and intent which have already been indicated in earlier chapters. The significance of each part will be treated briefly at its conclusion, so that at the end of the epic the whole may be viewed in proper perspective.

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[1] In *Kunapipi* (*op. cit.*, Chapter VII) it was said that 'the songs are the echo of those first sung by the Ancestral Beings: the spirit of the echo goes on through timeless space, and when we sing, we take up the echo and make sound.' This applies also to the Djanggawul songs.

[2] These are to be published separately through the journal *Oceania* as a monograph, on account of the great number of phonetic texts. The serious reader or student is advised to read these in conjunction with the translations set out here.

Chapter Five

THE DJANGGAWUL SONG CYCLE

PART ONE

In which the Djanggawul cross the sea from Bralgu Island, and eventually reach the Arnhem Land mainland for the first time.

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Song 1

ALTHOUGH I leave Bralgu, I am close to it. I, Djanggawul, am paddling . . .
Paddling with all the paddles, with their flattened taperin ends.
Close I am coming, with Bildjiwuraroiju,
Coming along from Bralgu. We splash the water as we paddle, paddling wearily,
With Miralaidj, undulating our buttocks as we paddle.
We paddle along through the roaring tide, paddle a long way.
I am paddling along fast, through the rough sea . . .
Beside me is foam from our paddling, and large waves follow us.
With Bralbral, we move our wrists as we paddle, making noise as we go through the sea . . .
We, Djanggawul, are paddling along, lifting our paddles, slowly going along . . .
All the way we have paddled. I rest my paddles now, as we glide.
On the sea's surface the light from the Morning Star shines as we move,
Shining on the calmness of the sea.
Looking back I see its shine, an arc of light from the Morning Star. The shine falls on our paddles, lighting our way.
We look back to the Morning Star and see its shine, looking back as we paddle.

539 Star moving along, shining! We saw its disc quite close,
Skimming the sea's surface, and mounting again above Bralgu.
533 Close to us it rises above the expanse of sea; we look back, seeing its shine.
Morning Star, sent by the dancing Spirit People, those people of the rain, calling out as they dance there with outstretched arms.
They send it for us, that we may travel along its shining path from Bralgu.
Close, its 'feathered ball' appears above Dangdangmi! Close is the Morning Star, on the end of its string and pole!
Close is the Morning Star, stretching from its pole, extending out from its string . . .
Shining from Bralgu, as we paddle through the sea.
Bubbles rise to the sea's surface; our canoe is carried on the crest of waves. Ah, *waridj* Bralbral!
Sound made by our splashing paddles, and the sea's roar as we rise to the crest of a wave!
We make our paddles sound, with the noise of the sea, sound that is heard far away at Bralgu.
We, the Djanggawul, make sound with our paddling, make spray as we paddle fast . . .
The salty smell! The roaring sea, and its foam! Its wide expanse behind us!
We paddle, with Bildjiwuraroiju, following the waves along,
Pushing our way through the waves that block us
Sound from our sacred *ngainmara* mat! Noise as the waters surge around it!
Sound, as the sacred poles are moved about with the rolling of the canoe!

Song 2

We Djanggawul saw the Morning Star shining . . . ,
Saw its shine on the green-backed turtle, lighting up its throat . . . !
Paddling, we saw that turtle: saw its eyes open, its flippers outstretched as it floated.
Sea water lapped at its shell, spreading across its back.
Making a sound as it rose above the surface; see the dilly bag at its back!
It swam through the sea, with shell like a rock, hiding the bag under its flipper.
'I have another basket' (the turtle says). 'It is the cuttle fish.'

The Djanggawul Song Cycle

Song 3

Paddling we hear a sound; 539
A fish jumped to the water's surface; 533
A catfish! a sawfish! For us that fish jumps!
A flying fish, making a noise as it jumps, splashing the water . . .
A sawfish beside us; for it hears the sound of our canoe, the canoe of the Djanggawul.
Fish jumping! Sawfish, splashing the water with its nose!

Song 4

I, Djanggawul, am leaving Bralgu, paddling away from there, paddling fast.
The sweep of the paddle of Miralaidj, out in the deep sea, far from the mainland!
Paddling fast as we smell the Baijini from far away.
Sound within the water, as we pull on our paddles! Bildjiwuraroiju paddling . . .
Coming close to the mainland, splashing as we skim through the open sea . . .
See the shine of the Morning Star, as we look back, shining from Bralgu.
Sound of our narrow paddle . . . paddling along.
Spray falls across the canoe, coming strongly in from the heavy sea.
Close up! Paddling against the strong high tide; waves spread out as we go, waves from our paddling:
Waves that roar as they spread—coming from us, from our canoe.
Spraying like rain, churning to foam. The smell of the sea!
We paddle fast through the sea, for we hear the distant sound of the Baijini,
Sound and sea smell from them, from far away, spreading across the sea's expanse . . .
Carefully we must go, for the sea is rough, Miralaidj. Let us rest on our paddles, Bralbral. (They are speaking to one another.)
Sound of the sea from the Djanggawul's paddling!

Song 5

What is that we hear? A sea goose skims the water's surface.
It is for us, *waridj*! (They say as they paddle.) It comes from Buragumi, from the mainland.

539 As we paddle, what blocks our way? Flocks of sea geese alight on the water before them,
533 Hearing Bralbral and the Djanggawul talking. Flocks of birds alight on the water.
Flocks of birds, like hordes of people, people whom we shall put on the mainland.
Paddling we see them skimming the sea's surface, in the glistening rays of the Morning Star:
Resting on the sea's surface, from their home at Port Bradshaw.
See them as we move our arms in paddling, paddling slowly.
Grey crested birds . . . emerging from the mouth of the *ngainmara* mat!
They see the Djanggawul, paddling along . . . beautiful birds!
As Bildjiwuraroiju, Miralaidj and Bralbral paddle.
We see the shine of the Morning Star, as we look back,
See the shine that radiates from its disc; we turn as we paddle . . .
It shines on the ebbing tide, shine reaching out from Bralgu.
As we paddle we see the shine moving . . .
As we paddle through the glistening water, it follows us . . .
Going through the great wide sea . . . through the path of light . . .
Morning Star suspended on end of string, from a sapling pole,
Its 'feathered ball' close to us: now skimming the sea's surface, now rising once more. Shining on us!

Song 6

What is that which blocks us? The whale!
As we paddle, we see its gaping mouth. What is that?
Spray and sea splash as it moves.
We paddle gently, for we see the open mouth of the whale.
What is this swimming? Our *ngainmara* mat, swimming under the water!
Water swirling! We hear the noise of the water, and of its spray.
We saw it out at sea, a long way from Bralgu—spray from the swimming whale.
Water rises and swirls, with noise caused by the whale: spray and foam from the whale . . .
As we paddle, we see it swimming. Bralbral calls to the Djanggawul,
It is our mat, our basket! Let us take some. The others we leave in the sea!
Waves rise from the large *ngainmara* mats that they leave behind, swirling waters spraying from them!

Water comes in from them, coming to us: foaming, spraying and roaring, out on the sea! 539
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Song 7

Splashing, a fish swishes its tail as it rises, close to the whale's
'whiskers'. 1
A splashing catfish, turning over on to its belly . . .
From Bralgu, from the mouth of the whale . . .
It splashes, its spike protrudes as it swims before the gaping mouth
of the whale,
Splashing and chasing it. 'I (says the whale) am splashing. I chase
this fish, under the water.' 5
Touching the fish with its 'whiskers'. The catfish splashes . . .
Splashes before the open mouth of the whale,
Spraying, dragging its spike through the sea . . .
And the noise of the sea, being churned up . . . !
Waves rising and splashing, caused by fish . . .
Noise of the water and foam from that fish . . . 10
Waves spreading out, spraying and splashing, caused by the fish . . .

Song 8

What is that? A sea egg! 1
We must paddle with care, with the spade paddle, dragging it
through the sea as we rest.
Oh *waridj* Bralbral! Oh *waridj* Miralaidj! It is a stranger to us, from
Bralgu.
Sea eggs forming in lines, with their spiny 'hands',
Drift with the waves in the calm sea, spread with the moving
waves, 5
Drift on the surface, glistening in the shine of the Star.
The continuous lap of the sea, and its waves! Lines of sea eggs
spreading across the sea!
Strangers! At the fringe of the shine of the Star from Bralgu, they
spread out in the rising waves . . . The sound of the sea . . . !
Paddling, the Djanggawul see these eggs, as they move their
shoulders . . .
Their heads are grey. They have paddled far, and the salt water
has whitened their hair. 10
They are tired from paddling.
They pause as they see the eggs . . .

539 Drifting in the calm sea, their lines spreading, their short 'hands' moving:
533 Sea eggs we see as we paddle. Gently we drag our paddles along, as we rest them.
We paddle through the shine from the Morning Star, from Bralgu, slowly along as we see these eggs. 15

Song 9

What is that, *waridj* Miralaidj? Drag our paddles carefully. 1
See them, as the Djanggawul paddle fast.
They see them emerging from the water, coming up from Bralgu . . .
A green turtle we see in the water, making a sound . . . ,
See it through the shine of the Morning Star, shining on its throat as it swims . . . 5
See it moving its shoulders; see its shell . . .
We see it rise to the water's surface, its flippers 'paddling'.
Carefully we are moving our shoulders, as we are paddling. Let us rest, *waridj* Bralbral.
They see its shell shining as slowly it rose, catching the rays from the Star . . .
Floating on the crest of a wave, and making a noise, 10
Close to them as they paddle . . .
The Djanggawul move their buttocks, paddling fast. Noise from their paddle movements!

Song 10

What is that blocking us, *waridj* Bralbral? Carefully we must paddle. 1
Resting on paddles, dragging them, we see that stranger from Bralgu,
Stranger drift-wood, revealed in the shine of the Star . . . ,
Carefully moving our arms, we see it drifting by . . .
Making sounds as it drifts, splashing and making waves, 5
This stranger from Bralgu: drift-wood, drifting and splashing . . .
Pushed by the waves, and making a noise, drifting, and sending out foam . . .
Spray from the sea! Spray from away at Bralgu . . .
Foam all over the sea, stretching out from Port Bradshaw . . .
'I leave the foam on my body,' says the drift-wood. Foam stretching from Walbinboi Island! 10

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We see it close as we paddle. Drag our paddles, *waridj* Bralbral, *waridj* Djanggawul.
Foam and spray spread all over the sea, stretching out from Port Bradshaw . . .
See our heads! Grey from paddling, from salt and foam!
The Djanggawul are tired . . . See Bildjiwuraroiju paddling carefully, Bralbral undulating his buttocks.
It (the wood) is a stranger from Bralgu, from the source of the Star's shine. 15

Song 11

What is that crying? Careful! We must rest from paddling, *waridj* Bralbral. 1
We hear a sound. What is that now? A plover, *waridj*, hovering above the drifting timber.
It has seen our canoe, and circles about it.
It cries as it circles about the drift-wood, goes soaring cloudwards,
Cries as it swoops about the drift-wood. *Waridj*, it circles round and round our canoe. 5
Paddle carefully, Djanggawul, rest on our oars.
Its screeching cry sounds over the waters from Bralgu, mingling with the roar of the sea, spreading across it.
Sound as it skims the sea's surface, sound from its splashing; and foam!
The birds and clouds leave that cry for us, *waridj* Bralbral. It is a message for us . . .
Its cry echoes back from the clouds, as it circles around and cries through its beak: 10
Screeching that comes through its beak, up from its throat, reaching up to the sky.
Its eye is keen; it sees our canoe, and all within it, and sees the drifting wood.
Up and down goes its cry. The bird flies with hanging claws. Its eyes are closed, but the eye of its anus is open.
See, a message for us, *waridj* Bralbral!
The noise of its cry, as it circles! Foam covers the sea! It cries as it circles, away out from Port Bradshaw. 15

Song 12

We paddle fast, *waridj*, moving our arms. Bralbral, we paddle fast. 1
We have come far from the island of Bralgu. What is that shining, *waridj* Miralaidj?

The Djanggawul Song Cycle

539 The Morning Star shines on us, as we paddle along. See the Star shining!
533 Lift up the paddle carefully, *waridj!* Bralbral paddles, moving his buttocks.
Now we are paddling fast, moving our shoulders, lifting the narrow paddle:
Swaying our hips as we paddle. We have left Bralgu behind us, *waridj* Djanggawul.
We follow that Baijini sound, smelling the mainland, and paddling fast.
We must rest on the paddles, *waridj*. Going along, we hear the sound of the Baijini talking.
We paddle in on the morning tide, in through the breakers . . .
Our water is rushing onwards; from somewhere it must be ebbing.
Sound of the surf: waves from our paddling: splashing—foam from the surf!
Waves arise from our paddling, *waridj* Bralbral . . .
We are paddling fast along, sweeping our paddles . . .
Tired from paddling, with head grey from the foam . . . Oh Bildjiwuraroiju!
We are paddling fast, we are close to land, to Port Bradshaw.

Song 13

What is that, *waridj* Bralbral? Carefully drag the paddle, resting it on the canoe.
What is that, moving there? Those, *waridj*, are sponges, spreading their formless 'arms'.
We see them as we rest on our paddles, scratching ourselves from the sponges . . .
The Djanggawul are tired. This is a sponge, *waridj*! We saw the formless 'arms' moving along . . .
Paddling along, we see the ebbing tide. We saw the sponges, and heard the roar of the sea.
I am tired, like these drifting sponges, *waridj*; so let us rest our paddles . . .
We paddle fast when we hear the sound of the Baijini: the smell of the sea!

Song 14

We are paddling fast, *waridj* Djanggawul, moving our arms fast as we paddle.
We lift up our paddles, swishing quickly along . . .
A black porpoise follows our paddling and splashing.

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Carefully, *waridj* Bralbral, rest your paddle, dragging along. Water swirls from our paddling,
Spray follows behind us. We smell the Baijini, hear the sound that they make. 5
We paddle fast as we hear the Baijini; and the smell of the sea, from their fires.
Carefully, *waridj* Miralaidj, we move our arms, paddling quickly, swaying our hips.
Lifting the narrow paddle. We are reaching Port Bradshaw.
Soon we shall leave behind us the noise from our swishing paddles.
Spray and surf on the rolling tide, white foaming breakers, all from our paddling, *waridj* Bralbral, *waridj* Djanggawul. 10
We paddle in through the big waves, through the roar of the surf caused by our paddling.
We rest on our oars. Foam from our swishing paddles stains and patterns our bodies from Bralgu, far out at sea.

Song 15

What is that, *waridj* Bralbral? Carefully rest your paddles. What is blocking us? 1
A huge black sawfish, seen in the shine of the Morning Star,
Sawfish with gaping jaw and barbs, seen through the shine of the Star.
What is that, *waridj*? Two sawfish swimming, long black sawfish.
Carefully we go, letting our paddles drag through the water. 5
The Djanggawul, tired from travelling, see them through the shine of the Star.
We paddle quickly, and see the sawfish rise, with a loud noise as they turn in the water.
Loud noise from that, *waridj*! And water comes up. The jaw of the fish pushes the waves along, and makes spray.
Where is this spray coming from, *waridj*? We are paddling fast, swishing along through the water.
We move our arms carefully, *waridj* Bralbral, swaying our buttocks, making a noise as we paddle fast . . . 10
So we may reach Port Bradshaw . . .
Paddling quickly, we move our arms; and our heads are grey . . .

Song 16

What is that drifting along by us, *waridj*? Carefully we rest our paddles, dragging them through the sea. 1

539 Bralbral, it is a small sawfish, seen in the shine of the Morning Star . . .
533 Carefully we are paddling, swaying our buttocks. Djanggawul, this is a fish blocking us . . .
Paddling we see its back, and its saw, and the ripples it makes on the water. Paddling we see the sawfish.
Carefully we must go, *waridj* Bralbral, swaying our buttocks gently.
What is blocking us now? Its tail blocks us, 'paddling' and lashing the water.
We hear the roar of the sea from Bralgu across to the mainland.
We paddle, hearing the sawfish splashing and churning the water, fighting smaller fish.
We are smelling the sea and paddling fast. We saw the tide flow in, and the waves breaking.
We paddle, hearing the noise of the fish, and the waves breaking.

Song 17

Carefully rest the paddle, *waridj* Bralbral. What is this blocking us, Oh *waridj* Djanggawul?
A young porpoise, a stranger from Bralgu, we see through the shine.
Porpoise born in fresh water. It splashes, turns on its side, hitting the sea with its tail: veins in its tail . . .
Carefully we drag our paddles through the sea, splashing towards Port Bradshaw, smelling the sea . . .
Its jaw protrudes from the sea: young porpoises come swimming behind the canoe . . .
Coming from the fresh water, *waridj*, from Bralgu, from the land of the Spirits.
They made a crying sound, through the fat of their heads, spouting up sprays of water . . .
Swimming from Bralgu as they hear the paddling, the moving of shoulders.
Carefully we must paddle, *waridj* Djanggawul, lifting the narrow paddle, and moving fast . . .
Moving our buttocks, swaying our hips as we paddle. We saw the porpoises, heard the noise of their spraying,
Sound of the water, with foam from the splashing of young porpoises,
Chasing fish, which circle around, swimming under the water.
We see them as we paddle, through the shine of the Morning Star . . .

Song 18

What is that blocking us, *waridj* Djanggawul? Carefully rest our paddles, *waridj* Bralbral. 1 539
It is a bird, that cries as it swoops along, circling about our canoe, *waridj* Miralaidj. 533
It stretches its neck as it cries, gliding with outstretched wings, *waridj*, giving us strength for paddling.
Our seagull dives to the water, sending out spray with its beak as it skims the surface . . .
That bird, *waridj*, goes flying up and down, shaking itself dry: 5
Carefully we paddle, dragging the paddles along, as we hear that bird.
The female gull, with its beak, cries out as it sees the dark rain clouds rising.
The seagull cries out at the time of the wet season: it thinks of nesting.
Gliding along, it thinks of its home at Bremer Island.
Diving it skims the water, sending out spray. Its eyes can see in the night. It shakes itself dry. 10
We paddle fast as we smell the sea, smell where the Baijini are.
The seagull splashes the water, making a noise, giving us power to go quickly.
We move our wrists fast, swaying our hips as we paddle.
We are moving fast, *waridj*: hear the swish of our paddles.
Our heads are grey from the foam . . . we are tired from paddling. 15

Song 19

What is blocking us? Carefully drag our paddles, *waridj* Bralbral (says Djanggawul). 1
An immense sawfish! Carefully rest our paddles Djanggawul. It is a large sawfish.
What shall we do? We shall continue to paddle.
See its saws and its gaping mouth! *waridj*, are those its teeth?
Leave it swimming behind, for it whips up the sea with its jaws . . . 5
Carefully, *waridj*, let us paddle quickly and go. We saw it through the shine of the Morning Star.
Carefully swaying our buttocks, we leave it behind, lying under the surface . . .
There, near Port Bradshaw, it swirls the water, making a hollow noise:
We paddle fast as we smell the sea . . . Bones of that fish, large verterbrae like an expanse of sea.
Waridj, we move our hips as we travel fast, leaving it lying there, 10

539 Where it lives in the rough sea, for it is ferocious: it carries a 'poison bag'. The sawfish clan is always wanting to fight,
533 Always looking for trouble, always ferocious. It swims along with its bag of poison, that enters the teeth of its saw . . .
'I (says the fish) make the sea rough from my anger. No canoe may come hear me, or near my saws. I make the sea rough, I have poison!'
Let us paddle fast, *waridj*, it may attack us. Go fast, *waridj* Bralbral . . .
Shoulders moving, we plunge down our paddles. We, *waridj* Djanggawul, drag on our paddles and rest them. 15
Hear the sound of the incoming tide, *waridj*, let us go fast!
The high tide is flowing and roaring, ebbing from somewhere:
We see that fish in the shine of the Morning Star . . .
We plunge down our paddles, paddling fast, moving our buttocks, *waridj* Djanggawul. Smell the sea and hear the Baijini sound . . . !

Song 20

What is that, *waridj*? Carefully sway our buttocks, Bralbral, with dragging paddle. 1
This is sea-weed floating, a mass of sea-weed floating . . .
Waridj, it is a stranger from Bralgu, this floating weed, with fragments dislodging and drifting away.
It drifts into rows spreading out with the waves. Blown by the wind, it drifts backwards and forwards—spreading across the water.
Roar of the sea as it carries the weed on the incoming tide, and the spray of the surf! 5
We saw it through the shine of the Morning Star, there on our way to Port Bradshaw from Bralgu.
Let us go fast, *waridj* Djanggawul. Moving our arms quickly and swaying our buttocks, we lift up the paddles.
Far we have paddled. Is that spray, rising before us?
Is that the sea smell we follow? Is that the Baijini sound we hear?
Let us paddle fast, *waridj*, quickly, moving our buttocks, as the waves rush in, the high tide breaks on the beach . . . 10
Carefully, *waridj*. Djanggawul, moving his buttocks, lifts up his narrow paddle.

Song 21

What do we see, *waridj*, as we look back? 1
Paddling, we see the shine of the Morning Star.
Yes, *waridj* Bralbral, paddling we see it close to us. The Morning Star sends out its rays as it rises near us:

The Djanggawul Song Cycle

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It skims the water, shining across the sea, the Bralgu Star, its rays shining near us.
It skims the sea, from Bralgu, shining upon us, on the end of its string, attached to a young sapling.
Another Star, *waridj*, a feathered ball held by the Spirits . . . Close is the Morning Star . . .
It shines near, as we turn to see it. Oh, Morning Star, Oh pole and strings . . .
The Star and its rays rise gradually for us, *waridj* Miralaidj; we rest our paddles, dragging them through the sea.
See the shine from the disc of the Star, close to us, *waridj*.
The Bralgu Spirits are dancing, sending the Star . . .
Rain people, the stamping sound of their dancing . . . ! Dust rises, *waridj*, from under their dancing feet . . . !
There from the fresh water place, from the Spirit country.
The shine falls on us, from Bralgu, covering us with its shine . . . Close, it shines across to the mainland, to Port Bradshaw.
The morning Star shines, bringing the dawn . . . putting an end to the night . . .
Close to us, ending the darkness, bringing the dawn . . .
It pierces the darkness, that Star, sent by the Spirits. The sound of their dancing!
The morning Star shines from Bralgu, shines like the *mauwulan* pole . . .
It rises from the sandhills at Bralgu, where the Spirits dance, *waridj*, for us.
We move fast with the narrow paddle; we hasten, moving our wrists, as the tide roars in.
For the daylight is on us, the dawn, before the cry of the morning pigeon. The Star still shines for us, *waridj* Djanggawul.
Our hips and buttocks are swaying. Let us go carefully, because of the water,
It is rising for us, and roaring, with foam and spray of the surf.
We push the water along with our canoe, our paddles swishing.
Waves come up, with the rising tide. Spray comes from our swishing paddles. From us the tide is flowing.
Is that the mainland we are approaching from Bralgu?
Is that the mainland, Port Bradshaw, we are approaching . . . ?
The smell of the sea! *Waridj*, we paddle fast, quickly moving our wrists.
We lift up the narrow paddles—*waridj* Bralbral, our paddles . . .
We lift up the big paddles, moving fast, swishing the paddles . . .
Our paddles! We drag them along, the flat and the narrow paddles . . .

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Song 22

539 What is that, *waridj*, in front of us? We rest, dragging our paddles.
There ahead of us, *waridj* Bralbral.
533 That is the morning pigeon. Darkness goes, with its cry!
We saw darkness only towards the west . . .
Bird that 'twists' its tongue as its whistles! Daylight comes with its cry.
We saw the calmness of dawn (no sound but the pigeon's cry).
It ruffles itself, *waridj*, crying, and shaking its feathers. Its cry goes out to its nestlings.
The small clear cry of that pigeon and of its nestlings . . .
Talking fast from their nest . . . The pigeon flies down from the smooth inside of the nest. Their cries reach us, 'twisting' their tongues . . .
We saw the Morning Star ending the darkness. Then, the cry of the pigeon! Cries like the speech of different linguistic groups, like the Madarlpa dialect!
The bird talks fast, a sound like the Dalwongu dialect . . .
If flew across from its nest in the 'arm-band' bushes . . .
It teaches that cry to its young: the nestlings ruffle themselves.
Teaching that cry! It calls from the limbs near its nest. They are 'twisting' their tongues . . .
We saw it, flying down, as the darkness was clearing, 'twisting' its tongue and whistling.

Song 23

We paddle fast, moving our buttocks, *waridj*. We lift up the narrow paddle . . .
We paddle fast, with the narrow paddle . . . We speed along, *waridj* Djanggawul . . .
Wei! What is that, *waridj*? We rest our paddles, Bralbral, and drag them.
That, *waridj*, is the long drawn cry of the black bird.
Crying out, for it saw the darkness clearing . . .
What is that? The sound of the black bird, long drawn as the darkness clears.
It saw the coming dawn, and the calmness.
What is that, *waridj*? A black bird crying, at dawn, and the cry of the nestlings!
Crying with mouths agape, as they hear the roar of the waves, and smell the sea,
As they hear the noise of the water, the foam and the spray.

'I (says the bird) heard the noise of the water rising, the incoming tide . . .
I draw out my sound, it reaches out to Port Bradshaw . . .
A long cry, moving my head, as I see the water rising, and see the spray . . .
Nesting among the limbs of the "coffee" tree, of the *djuda rangga* . . .'
It grasps the tree with its claws, crying from that sacred tree,
Sending out its cry, as the big waves rise and spray.
The sea roars as the bird cries, and the sound reaches up to the clouds,
A long-drawn sound entering the banking clouds, the cloud-flecked sky.
A long cry, as it saw the tide roaring in, with its spray
'I saw the spray. I cry out as the waves come splashing together.
I saw the water, and saw them paddling fast. The smell of the sea!
I saw the tide coming up. The Baijini sound, the smell of the sea!
I saw the water, roaring, as the waves came in at Port Bradshaw, coming from Bralgu.'
Foam coming up, and spreading. The bird cried as it looked at the water.
The crest of the surf shines in the light of the Morning Star. The sea roars, and the waves are splashing together.
The bird saw the darkness clearing, uttering its long cry as the dawn came,
The cry in the stillness, as the darkness cleared (with the light) from Bralgu!

Song 24

What is that, *waridj* Bralbral? We rest our paddles at the cry, and drag them along.
We look round to see the cry. It comes from Bralgu. It's close to us!
It is coming up, moving along. The sun, with its *mauwulan rangga* emblem!
As it rises, its rays warm the Djanggawul's backs. It comes rising, close to them.
The sun, with rays emerging before its disc! Close, it shines on the water, warming our backs, *waridj* Djanggawul.
Close it is rising, from the sand, from the sea into the sky.
Hot sun, burning our backs, its rays leading back to Bralgu!
Rising sun, reflected in the sea! Sun for us, with its heat!
Rays of the sun emerging, *waridj*, leaving its home beneath the water!
Sun coming up close, with spreading rays!

The Djanggawul Song Cycle

539 For us, *waridj*, it leaves its home under the sea.
Its rays touch us like hands; their reflections shine in the water.
533 We go fast. Paddling along we see the rays touching us, so that the sweat comes out.
The sun comes up for us, leaving its home; the glare is hurting our eyes.
It comes closer, rising above the sea, burning our backs.
The smell of the sea! It leaves its home in the water, and warms us . . .
We paddle fast, to Port Bradshaw, to the Place of the Sun, to where the Baijini are.
Reflections shine in the sea. The rays warm us, on our way to Port Bradshaw.
We lift up our paddles, *waridj*, we go fast but carefully, moving our arms and our buttocks.
The sun reaches us, with its rays. Its red glow, *waridj*, for us, from the sacred parakeet feathers!
We rest our paddles. It is for us! We paddle fast, *waridj*, and carefully.
Our buttocks are moving. It is for us, *waridj* Djanggawul! We paddle fast!
Our hips sway as we paddle along, lifting the paddles,
On our way to the Place of the Sun, at Port Bradshaw.
The sun's rays touch us, warming our backs . . .
Rays like the parakeet-feathered string of our *rangga*! Feathered string like our child! Red glow of the sun.
Rays warming our backs, like feathered string! Like feathered *rangga*!
That sun rises above us, burning our backs, going to the Place of the Sun.
It burns our backs, and it shines on the water at Lilildjang.
Its warm rays touch us, stretching to Arnhem Bay . . .
It leaves its home in the water, and rises, burning.
Warm rays touching our backs, touching our *rangga*! Shining, and making the mainland clear to see!
For us it shines on the sacred sandhills at Port Bradshaw . . .
Stretching out its rays, warming our backs, illuminating the waterholes at Arnhem Bay . . .
That sun, sending out its rays to Elcho Island,
Burning our backs, from the red ochre there . . . at Elcho Island . . .
That sun sends out its rays to shine on the sea, *waridj*, on the mainland near Milingimbi . . . ,
Warming our backs, as it reaches west to the wide Barara country.

The Djanggawul Song Cycle

Song 25

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We go fast, moving our wrists, and lifting our paddles.
We paddle along, *waridj* Bralbral, as the sun's rays touch us, and touch our paddles.
Our buttocks and hips sway, as we paddle along:
What is that? What is that cry?
Flying foxes, suspended there in the tree, *waridj* Djanggawul, crying out from the tree.
We saw the sacred tree, the sacred *rangga*. Flying foxes, in the sacred tree!
Little flying foxes crying, as they hold that sacred tree . . . !
They cry from their home, where they hang among the branches of the sacred tree,
Cry from the topmost branches, from all the branches of the tree . . .
They cry from their home: crying, *waridj*, from the sacred Leichhardt fig tree.

Song 26

We go fast, lifting our paddles, moving our wrists . . . we are close to our country.
We go fast, moving our buttocks; for we hear the roar of the sea, the spray of the surf,
Coming up from our paddling! Foam from our paddling!
Wai! *waridj* Bralbral, carefully drag the paddles, for they are splashing up foam.
What has happened? Sea smell, and splashing!
What, *waridj*, is that? Wai! Our feathered arm-bands!
What has happened? They are wet from that foam.
We are all getting wet! What shall we do? Throw away the wet *rangga*?
They are wet from that foam, our *rangga*, *waridj* Bralbral: wet from lying in water! We are nearing Port Bradshaw.
Shall we, *waridj*, undo it, then throw it away? No, let the sacred mat with the *rangga* sink down, near the Place of the Sun.
We shall not untie its 'mouth' . . . Let it sink down into the sea, outside Port Bradshaw . . .
Sacred invocations to the *rangga* and *nguinmara* . . . ! We invoke the *bugali* as it sinks . . . , calling the sacred names.
They sink down, making a noise as the sea covers them.

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Song 27

539 Let us rest on our paddles, *waridj*, for I (Bralbral) am tired.
Stop paddling, *waridj*.
633 What is happening there, *waridj*? (Bralbral says) My body aches with tiredness.
Tired, because you are worrying (about the mat containing the *rangga*).
I am worrying (says the Djanggawul Brother) about the *rangga*. (Why didn't we open the mat?)
I am just tired! That was why, *waridj*, we threw away the sacred *rangga* and mat.
We are coming close to the mainland: our journey, our paddling, is done.
We land on the beach at Port Bradshaw.
That is our country! We plant our *mauwulan* here.
We have arrived, oh *waridj*!

Comments on Part One of the Songs

Song 25 suggests that the Djanggawul are close to the mainland: 539 the flying foxes are crying from their trees, which are said to be *djuda rangga* (lines 6, 7 and 8). In Song 26 the travellers discover that the *rangga* and mat(s) they have carried in their canoe have become sodden with salt water and spray. Bralbral asks the Djanggawul what they intend to do with the wet *rangga*, tied up in the basket (mat)—line 8, they decide to throw the basket away with the *rangga* inside. On second thoughts, the Djanggawul Brother says, 'No! We will have a look inside first, before they sink down into the sea.' The Two Sisters, however, object. 'No, you are not going to open (or untie) it. You can just throw it into the sea, because it has all got wet.' Since the Sisters are the real custodians of the sacred *rangga*, the decision rests with them; the Djanggawul Brother and his companion Bralbral can do nothing. They therefore throw the *rangga* over the side of their canoe, so that they '. . . sink down, making a noise as the sea covers them' (line 13). Some *rangga*, however, have been kept. It is not clear whether the basket (or mat) containing the *rangga* is thrown overboard, or whether the *rangga* are removed and then thrown out of the canoe. A native drawing (*vide* original text and notes) shows the *rangga* being removed from the *ngainmara*. Not only are the *rangga* wet, but their decorations, like the fibre of the mat, are stained with spray and foam. One part of the original text suggests that the mat is first undone (its 'mouth' opened), and then turned upside down so that the *rangga* fall out one by one into the water; finally, the mat itself is 'put into the water'. The *rangga* make a reef outside the entrance to Port Bradshaw, while the mat turns into a whale (*vide* Song 6). The text, however, indicates rather that the 'mouth' or aperture of the mat was not undone, and all the *rangga* were just dumped overboard. As they are thrown into the sea, the Djanggawul call the sacred invocations (line 12); see Chapter 1.

In the last song (27) of this section, we are told that the Brother and Bralbral regret having thrown away the *rangga* and mat without first looking at them. 'I am worrying (says the Djanggawul Brother) about the *rangga*. (Why didn't we open the mat?)'—line 5. They attribute their carelessness to their being tired—'I am just tired! That was why *waridj*, we threw away the sacred *rangga* and mat.'—line 6. They are very weary, for they have travelled such a long way; and at last they have reached Port Bradshaw. 'That is our country!' (line 9) they exclaim, as they beach their canoe, 'We have arrived, oh *Waridj*!' (line 10). The Djanggawul step on to the shore, and insert their *mauwulan rangga* into the ground; at its withdrawal water 539 gushes forth, leaving a permanent spring. 538

In commenting on these songs, we have mentioned only the 533

539 outstanding details. Many interesting features are revealed in the
538 phonetic texts, and these are discussed elsewhere. We can see, however, how well controlled is the theme, how ideas follow in sequence,
533 and how behind all the various incidents a definite structure or pattern is evolved and retained. Certain points are constantly reiterated throughout most of this section. This is a common practice in most song cycles of north-eastern and north-central Arnhem Land, where it is apparently felt that repetition gives background and atmosphere to the separate songs. The paddling, the Morning Star, the roar of the sea with its spray and foam, appear again and again. There is a feeling of movement and action which lends veracity to the saga; the eternal movement of the sea, its constant roar, and ever undulating waves, are said to have been caused not only by the paddling of the Djanggawul, but by the marine creatures which they meet on their journey. Wherever possible too, the underlying pattern of the Djanggawul ideology is linked to various incidents and themes: the flocks of birds and nests, for instance; the rolling *rangga* in the mat, rattling with the movement of the canoe; the whale *ngainmara*; the *rangga* and feathered string, and the rays from the sun; the throwing overboard of the *rangga* and mat, and so on; all intrude themselves to express the symbolic significance of the Djanggawul's journey.

[pp. 93-291 not processed]

Chapter Twenty-five

EPILOGUE

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113 We are now in a position to summarize and discuss the contents of the Djanggawul epic, as described in the Yirrkalla version. To facilitate this, a chapter of detailed comments has been added to each part, or group of songs. These separate chapters have reviewed briefly the significance and symbolic intent of each song; they have indicated, too, the various threads running through all the parts, and their interrelated themes. We have thus already glimpsed the cycle as an integrated whole, and noted the fundamental elements which have emerged. It remains, now, for us to draw broad conclusions on this basis. Final conclusions must, however, rest on our analysis of the Milingimbi version of this same cycle. That version is complementary to the one reviewed here, and although its basic themes are similar, and its fundamental intent is the same, it does contain a number of additional features. These differences, insignificant as they may seem, must be taken into account in making our final summary of the Djanggawul cult in north-central and north-eastern Arnhem Land.

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533 Reading through the mythology and songs of the Djanggawul cult, we can perhaps begin to appreciate something of the care and thought which have gone into their construction, in the form in which we see them to-day. Through them it is possible for aliens such as ourselves to understand in some degree the fundamental issues involved in one Aboriginal religious cult. Moreover, it is only through the medium of such material, particularly in the form of interlinear translations, that we may attain more than a superficial understanding of Aboriginal thought and behaviour. These

songs express what may be described as the spiritual quality of 182
this particular Aboriginal society. They are essentially traditional, 773
and have developed within the society as the result of group rather
than of conscious or acknowledged individual effort. The individual 533
is thus subordinated to the social conscience, in that he becomes the instrument through which they are transmitted, and through which they continue to live. The fact that he may add something to them in the course of transmission is not, here, a significant factor in this process: for if their inherent 'power', or their sacred aura, is to remain, they must retain what is felt to be their original structure in recognizable form. In this lies their essential value as documents of social thought and religious belief. Being predominantly traditional, they stem from the past; and because the concept of the 'Eternal Dreaming' is a living reality in Aboriginal life, these songs continue to retain at least the main ingredients (or what people themselves regard as the main ingredients) of their original content. Moreover, their oral transmission has been associated with special rhythms and ritual postures, and with accompanying dances, providing means of expression for the sacred thought and emotion not merely of one but indeed of many generations of Aborigines.

The Djanggawul songs and mythology comprise a body of 773
knowledge which is not restricted, in the sense of being available
to only one section of the community, but is shared by all adults 533
and (to a much lesser extent) children. For practical purposes, a 562
distinction is made between, on the one hand, the executive 184
authority wielded by the men, and on the other, the more sub- 778
missive participation of the women. Women know the content and rhythms of the songs, but 'officially' they are not supposed to know the ritual or the sacred invocations, or to see the *rangga* emblems. Generally speaking, however, they do know more about these than would be suspected from conversations with men alone. A number of women have described to my wife, in confidence, various features of the rituals performed exclusively and 'secretly' by men. They have described the *rangga* emblems, and told her many of the sacred terms used in invoking. An explanation of this lies in the Aborigines' concept of sacredness, which is not restricted to the confines of the ceremonial ground. It is, on the contrary, widely diffused throughout the society, and appears to permeate
every institution and activity of the people. Women, as we have 773
seen, by virtue of their childbearing ability as symbolized by the 533
womb, possess a special sacred quality peculiar to themselves, in 562
which men may not share. However important man may be— 778
and the indispensable part he plays in conception receives much attention in the Djanggawul epic—woman has the more spectacular

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533

Epilogue

562 rôle, and the miracle of childbirth is hers alone. Upon that simple
118 but fundamental thesis much of this traditional epic is based.

Woman's participation in the *dua nara* is thus both logical and necessary. Each sex, however, has its own part to play; and the Djanggawul cycle has indicated not only the physical but also the culturally defined ritual differences between men and women.

In this volume, when describing the beliefs and practices associated
794 with the Djanggawul cycle and the performance of *nara* ritual, we
796 have purposely employed the term cult. This does not mean,
however, that it is controlled or shared by a select group, the
184 acceptance of members within the order being determined by
totemic, clan or linguistic group affinities, by status, prestige or
economic position. This is not so. The Djanggawul cult is one of
a number existing contemporaneously in this region, each having
its own mythology and associated ceremonies. All these cults are
in some degree interrelated, and all male members of the society
are eligible as active participants. Boys and young men pass auto-
matically through the age-grading ceremonies of the *djunggawon*,
kunapipi and *ngurlmag*. In addition to these, there are certain revela-
tory rituals, which are not initiatory. The extent of a man's active
794 participation in the latter, and his eligibility for leadership, depend
796 upon several factors—for example, on his moiety and kinship
affiliations, and on whether or not the cult's mythology and ritual
554 belong to his particular linguistic group or clan, and to his father's
184 family. Such factors, however, never operate to debar him altogether,
and in many cases his relationship to the cult through his mother's
616 family may have a compensatory effect. The same conditions apply in the case of the major religious cults, the *dua* and *jiritja* moiety *nara*. All men may be accepted as initiands to the *nara* ceremonies, and all may subsequently become neophytes; but the measure of their active participation and leadership depends on the factors mentioned above. Only a *dua* moiety man, belonging to the most powerful *dua* linguistic group and clan, can rise to ceremonial headmanship in the *dua nara*; and here, too, the principle of descent may operate. The writer's main informants in recording and discussing the Djanggawul songs, mythology and so on were *dua* headmen, assisted by other men who were correspondingly 'graded' in the ritual sphere.

533 Comparison of the myth (Chapter 2) with the Songs reveals certain
773 inconsistencies. These may perhaps stem from the fact that the
myth is an over-all sketch of the Djanggawul's journey and adventures; it allows rather more latitude and scope to individual narrators, and does not purport to describe various incidents in any great detail. On the whole, it does agree basically with the Songs; but

whereas the latter terminate abruptly at Arnhem Bay, the myth 533 draws to its anticipated conclusion somewhere beyond Milingimbi. 113 Presentation of the Milingimbi version will throw some light on this question of the myth in its relation to the songs: for, as mentioned earlier, it not only repeats much of what has been set out here, but continues on to the Balbanara district, on the mainland south-west of Milingimbi. Even so, some of the place names mentioned in the myth are omitted from the Songs, and some of the incidents said to have taken place are not correlated. For example, we are told in the myth that the Sisters' clitorises were first cut at Dambala(nguru), whereas in the Songs this is done at Marabai. The two places are, however, close together; the most important point is that in both instances the cutting occurs after the Sisters have lost their sacred basket and *rangga*. Several other details, such as the piercing of the Sisters' hands by the *gabila* mangrove 'nail' fish, are not treated in the Songs; the latter incident, however, took place when the *rangga* fish traps were being erected (Part Four), so that this seems to be a matter of omission rather than of contradiction. Other features, like the *jiritja* moiety water blocking the Djanggawul at Waruwi, the flying foxes at Maiilwi, the meeting with Buralindjingu, and the Djanggawul's sojourn on Galiwinggo Island, are contained in the Milingimbi version. In the Songs, no mention is made of the killing of Miralaidj by sorcery, and of her miraculous reappearance; possibly this was not a traditional element, and was inserted without sacred sanction.

Where actual discrepancies are found between myth and Songs, it is difficult to find a satisfactory explanation. It is perhaps reasonable to suggest, as above, that the traditional songs are less subject to apparent alteration, while the myth depends on individual telling without the operation of the same social controls, and the story-teller is not bound to adhere rigidly to the main theme. Nevertheless, the myth provides a 'setting' for the Songs, and helps us to glimpse the whole in perspective even if not in considerable detail; on the other hand, it does not reveal the symbolic significance of the cycle in the same clear fashion as the Songs.

The Songs are presented here in the way in which they are sung 533 The original sequence, word order, and structure are retained 128 (except that when sung rapidly there is some slurring and abbreviation of words, not manifested in slower singing). The only thing lacking is the accompanying music; for they are, as mentioned, sung in conjunction with ritual and dancing. When the anthropologist has knowledgeable and competent informants, is acquainted with the language and with the ritual, and records the words as they are sung, the margin of possible error is considerably

533 128 minimized. Moreover, the constant repetition, which serves to impress on listeners the main features of the Songs, has a similar effect upon the singers themselves. An important device where transmission is entirely oral, with no visual aids except the sacred objects employed in the rituals, it also helps to ensure that the essential outline of the Songs is handed on from one generation to another. With the myth, however, it is rather a different matter. 773 128 The myth is never narrated consecutively as a story, and there is no accompanying check of song and ritual. It is told in fragments, so to speak, to explain certain physiographical features, elements of social behaviour, or ritual activities; or brief extracts from it may be cited in the course of relevant discussion. The myth as related in this volume is composite, and represents a synthesis of several versions.

773 562 In some points, the myth as told by women does not conform to that told by men. Essentially, however, all the versions are in agreement. Women, too, stress the long penis of the Brother and clitorises of the Sisters; the stealing of the basket and *rangga*, and leadership of the *nara* rituals; the association with the sun and with the *lindaridj* parakeet; and the sacredness of menstrual and afterbirth blood. They are inclined to emphasize the powers of the Two Sisters at the expense of the Brother, and to credit them with creating and leaving the most important animal and vegetable foods for the benefit of the Aborigines who were to follow them. The important childbearing rôle of the Djanggawul Sisters, setting the pattern which women follow to-day, is said to have been introduced by themselves. Before this, among the spirit people inhabiting the land, women would select babies from the many to be found sitting among the foliage of the cycad palms, and take them back to camp to be breast-fed by the men. Women, it is said (with a certain amount of rationalization), were too busy with sacred ritual to attend to the bearing and rearing of children. The Djanggawul, however, started the practice of child-bearing as it is now known, and were the True Mothers of the Aboriginal race in this region.

539 Let us turn now to a review of the Song Cycle as it is presented here.

533 In Part One the Djanggawul leave Bralgu, the island of Spirits, to which they had come from somewhere farther across the sea. The Songs emphasize the fact that this was the place from which they voyaged to the Australian mainland. The Morning Star, too, was sent from Bralgu, and from there rose the sun, the influence of which is felt throughout the cycle: for, as mentioned in Chapters 1 to 3, the Djanggawul Sisters

are associated with the sun, and the rays of sunlight in concrete and tangible form are the red breast feathers of the parakeet, and the feathered *rangga* strings.

The main theme of this part (One) is the Djanggawul's journey through the rough sea, guided by the rays from the Morning Star which shine upon the water. On the journey they see many fish, and marine animals; the movement of these, together with the Djanggawul's paddling, creates waves and causes the sea to grow rough. Foam sprays over the canoe, staining their bodies and hair, and the *rangga* emblems stored away in the *ngainmara*. A whale appears and is likened to the *ngainmara* mat; and, later, *rangga* emblems and *ngainmara*, thought to have been irrevocably damaged by moisture, are tossed overboard. The Morning Star gives way to the glow of early morning as the Djanggawul near the mainland. Various birds herald the coming dawn; the warming rays of the sun appear, and the Djanggawul enter Port Bradshaw harbour.

This part sets the pattern for the rest of the cycle, by introducing different elements which are developed and co-ordinated as the Songs proceed. The movement of the sea, with the incoming and the ebbing tides, is an integral feature, and is associated with the rising and flooding of fresh-water wells. The foam caused by such movements is also symbolically important, and is constantly mentioned in connexion with the *rangga* and feathered strings. In fact, the fluctuations of the tides, and the rising well-waters flooding the land, come to serve as a dominant theme. It is this section of the cycle which sponsors much of the basic *nara* ritual, as set out in Parts Eight, Nine and Ten.

In Part Two the Djanggawul arrive at Jelangbara, Port Bradshaw, and make wells by plunging into the ground the point of their sacred *mauwulan* pole. They also 'plant' trees, which spring from their *djuda rangga*; and various birds and reptiles become totemic through association with them. Here, too, the parakeet is mentioned for the first time. Its red (or deep orange) breast feathers reflect the rays of the setting sun, and are looked upon as being part of the sun itself; this attitude is particularly important, in view of the significance of the parakeet-feathered strings used on the *rangga* and sacred baskets or dilly bags. As these birds sit in the trees which have grown from the *djuda*, they ruffle and dry their feathers in the warmth and glow of the sun, just as the Djanggawul dry the feathered strings which were moistened by sea spray and foam.

The Djanggawul construct a *nara* shade, hanging from it sacred baskets, and make a mound at one side of the clearing used as a dancing ground. This represents the sacred sandhill at the Place of the Mauwulan, where the *djanda rangga* goanna appeared, and left his tracks. (In memory of this occasion, and because that sandhill was particularly sacred, a small symbolic 'sandhill' of earth is always made at the *nara* ground.) The goanna then jumps into the fresh-water well, and the water rises

539 (just as the various sea creatures brought about the movement of the sea and its tides). An alien element is superimposed here, as the Djanggawul
533 come in contact with the Baijini folk. This element, although important in many ways, is not co-ordinated with the rest of the cycle, and can thus be accorded only passing reference. The Baijini cycle itself will be presented and discussed later; it is associated with the Macassan cycle, since the Aborigines regard the Baijini folk as aliens, physically and culturally distinct from themselves.

In Part Three the Djanggawul leave Port Bradshaw, and search for a place at which to construct a *nara* shade. As they travel along they 'make country', plant *djuda* trees, plunge their *mauwulan* into the ground so that wells gush forth, and arrange feathered strings which grow into yam creepers and foliage. Billowing white clouds beckon the Djanggawul onwards. Geese, which are in reality *rangga*, are placed in the well, and the water bubbles up; these geese symbolize the *rangga* children who will later emerge from the Sisters. Various fish are caught and declared sacred, and come into 'Dreaming'. Water goanna, too, are put into the well. In consequence of all this the water surges up and overflows, flooding the countryside. At last the *nara* shade is erected, and the foam-splashed *rangga* emblems are removed from the *ngainmara* and dried in the sun.

Part Four sees the Djanggawul reaching Arnhem Bay. Here more *djuda* are planted, and upon them parakeets perch crying. One of the Sisters feels unwell, and cannot walk quickly. She is pregnant; her uterus is full of people. A place is prepared, and the people are removed from her. Fish traps, with *rangga* posts, are arranged at Wagulwagul, the Place of the Mat. The well water continues to rise and spreads across the country, bringing fish which are caught in the trap. Later, the Djanggawul sit in their shade and decorate the *rangga*.

Part Five refers, symbolically, to the removal of the *rangga* folk from the Sisters. As the Djanggawul walk along, they reach a tidal creek in which a whale is stranded; this is the *ngainmara* mat, and refers back to the whale mentioned in Part One. Later on a shade is constructed, and a fire kindled to provide warmth for the Sisters during the process of childbirth. Mangrove shells and *rangga* are removed from the *ngainmara*, and the fringe of the mat or basket is cut (an act of *nara* ritual significance). The ground at the sacred shade is specially laid out, with the symbolic sandhill of the Place of the Mauwulan to one side (*vide* Part Two). More *djuda* are placed in the well, and the water rises; the parakeets, perched on the *djuda*, dry their feathers in the glow of the setting sun and finally disappear.

Part Six continues the theme which made its appearance in the preceding part. Most of the Songs here relate symbolically to the removal of the people from the *ngainmara*-womb. Feathered strings are spread out on the ground, leading or pointing to various places associated with the Djanggawul, and representing umbilical cords. More people are removed from the Sisters, and the male children are likened to circumcision novices. The cutting of the umbilical cord signifies the cutting of the foreskin. In both cases there is a severance from the Mother, and the significant point made here is that circumcision is ritually a rebirth. Children are placed in the sacred shade to play in the sun's rays, and a comparison is drawn here with the parakeets drying themselves in the sun. In this part, too, a division between the sexes is noted for the first time (a theme elaborated in Part Ten); male children are removed first, and left unprotected in the coarse grass, while female children are taken out later and are protected by the *ngainmara* mat.

Part Seven continues with the removal of *rangga* folk. More *djuda* and other *rangga* are put into the sacred well, and the water rises and floods. A *nara* shade is built; and more *rangga* are hidden in the well, which is equated with the *ngainmara* or womb.

Part Eight is principally concerned with the Djanggawul Sisters' loss of the sacred basket and *rangga* emblems. They are stolen by the Brother and his *galibingu* companions (circumcision novices: *vide* Part Six), who take over the *nara* ritual. The Two Sisters have hung their basket, or dilly bag, from a tree in their shade above a fire which they have prepared, and have gone out to collect mussels. *Rangga* folk are again removed, and *djuda* planted. Warned by a bird, the Sisters return to find their basket and *rangga* gone. They discover that the men have taken it, and hear the ritual in progress. In this way, the women come to lose their active control of the *nara*. Nevertheless, although deprived of this function, they retain absolute authority over the *ngainmara*, the *djuda* and other *rangga*. They do not mind surrendering their sacred objects to the men, for they have really lost nothing.

This section is probably the most spectacular in the whole cycle and, to the Aborigines, the most important: for it not only explains the monopoly which the men hold to-day in so far as executive control of the *nara* is concerned, but also emphasizes the economic division of labour between the sexes (that is, the Sisters are now to grind cycad nuts for 'bread').

Immediately after this, the Djanggawul Brother shortens his penis, a sign of 'emancipation', representing symbolically the severance of the umbilical cord, this in turn being identified with circumcision (*vide* Part Six). Then comes the cutting of each Sister's elongated clitoris; this action symbolizes the severing of the umbilical cord which links the *rangga* children with the mother, the loss of their *rangga* and basket and of their symbolic penes, and their acceptance of their new status (upon losing their former executive powers for controlling the *nara* ritual). When the cutting is completed, more *rangga* folk are taken from the

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539 *ngainmara*; and this part concludes with the stolen sacred basket hanging from the men's *nara* shade.

533 As Part Nine opens, the Djanggawul are again continuing on their way, 'making country'. The Sisters are still pregnant. One lies in the sacred *nara* shade (although they have lost their basket and *rangga* they have not, apparently, been debarred from the *nara* shade or ground); her clitoris is again shortened, and more people are put out. The Djanggawul Brother attempts to have coitus with the younger Sister, Miralaidj, but his penis is 'blocked' by an arm-band lodged in her vagina. The cut clitoris is healed in the warmth of the sun; the blood which flows from it, and the red walls beyond the labia majora, are symbolic of the red rays of the setting sun, and of the red breast feathers of the parakeet. Miralaidj is then covered by the *ngainmara*, to signify her sacredness. *Rangga* folk dance from the Sisters' wombs into the *nara* shade. Again the Brother attempts to have coitus with Miralaidj; his *rangga* penis is erected, and in copulating he breaks the arm-band inside her vagina. Blood flows, and numbers of *rangga* people emerge. Bildjiwuraroiju aids her younger Sister by releasing, through abdominal pressure, a clot of blood which eventually liquefies and flows. Again Miralaidj is placed beneath the *ngainmara*, in sacredness. *Rangga* folk stand in the shade with the Brother and the elder Sister, and the first *nara* dancing begins in earnest. They stand in strict formation, like rising clouds, like 'fighting men'.

At this juncture, there is much stress on the *rangga* folk's having come from the Sisters: 'From resting within the womb: pulling them out from the womb! . . . Lying within the uterus!' This is a reference to their initial journey across the sea from Bralgu, and to their sojourn in the *ngainmara* and later in the sacred shade. The *nara* ritual continues, the *rangga* folk being guided by their leader, the Brother himself under the direction of Bildjiwuraroiju. Most of the ritual is related to incidents mentioned in Part One, for it is a re-enactment of the journey of the Djanggawul.

In the final Part (Ten), more *rangga* are removed; and the distinction between the sexes, originally noted in Part Six, is elaborated. The female *rangga* children are separated from the male children and declared sacred for they are like the Djanggawul Sisters—the source of all sacredness and ritual power. It is said that the *rangga* folk are born so that they may grow up to follow the Djanggawul law. The girls are 'sewn up' in the *ngainmara*; but they are later removed, having assumed or intensified their *rangga* quality. Many sacred baskets or dilly bags are hung from *djuda* and from the *nara* shade; from them *rangga* are removed, and with their feathered strings are placed to dry in the sun. The *nara* ritual proceeds, and the epic concludes suddenly with the cutting of the fringe of the basket.

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This brief summary has mentioned only sparingly the symbolism manifested in the cycle, being confined chiefly to a description of the main incidents dealt with in the Songs. We may now indicate something of their symbolic significance, and the basic trends which emerge. 533 539

The most important theme, which extends throughout the whole cycle, centres about the sacred *ngainmara* mat. This is the symbolic uterus, which makes its appearance in the early stages of the epic. The *ngainmara* conical mat, while always retaining this essential significance, is also expressed in other terms; it may be a whale, a basket or dilly bag, a well, or a *mara* shade, and all these come to be associated with its particular function. Although the Songs may mention only one uterus, usually the reference is to both Sisters, so that when one *ngainmara* is described, the context may suggest two. (Nouns, in dialects of this language group, retain the same form for singular and plural.) 533 539 831

Incorporated in this theme, and an important adjunct to the *ngainmara*, are the sacred *rangga* emblems with their feathered strings, made chiefly from parakeet breast feathers. These *rangga* are always referred to in conjunction with the *ngainmara*; fundamentally, they symbolize the male, the *ngainmara* the female. The *rangga* are manifested in various forms, each with its separately defined function: the *djanda* goanna and goanna tail with the *mauwulan*, have the power to bring forth water when plunged into the ground, while the *djuda* when 'planted' grow into green trees, and the feathered pendants attached to them become live parakeets. These are the primary *rangga* (although secondary *rangga* do exist, and are used on the *mara* ground), and they symbolize the penis. Once the basic significance of the *ngainmara* and the *rangga* is realized, and their importance as a twofold combination, many of the situations in the Songs become clear. Understanding of this simple but fundamental framework of the Djanggawul cult helps us to understand its more complex manifestations, and its wider implications. The symbolism of the *rangga* is also extended further, like the *ngainmara*, to include certain trees, the elongated penis of the Djanggawul Brother, and the people who emerge from the Sisters.

Although the *rangga* does not invariably represent the male (for example, it is frequently used to signify both male and female children emerging from the 'mat'), as the *ngainmara* does the female, this is its more usual significance. The testes, however, are absent from this constellation. It is possible that the hanging of sacred baskets from the *rangga* may have some relevance here, but since this is not the Aboriginal interpretation we shall not speculate further along those lines.

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533 The two elements, the *ngainmara* and *rangga*, in their various forms,
539 serve as a combination through which two basic situations find
831 expression. The symbolism relates in the first place to sexual intercourse, in the second to pregnancy and eventual childbirth. Apart from such symbolic representations (although these are more numerous), direct references to coitus and childbirth are made, and help to explain the others.

Let us consider the first situation. *Rangga* emblems are kept within the *ngainmara* mat, being from time to time withdrawn and inserted into the ground; they are put away in the *ngainmara* and covered up, in sacredness; they are plunged into the ground to make wells, so that water gushes forth; *djuda rangga* are 'planted', so that trees grow from them; totemic objects and animals (birds or reptiles) are put into a sacred well, so that the water rises and overflows; *rangga* are put in the shelter of a *nara* shade, or returned to a sacred basket or dilly bag; parakeets fly into the *ngainmara*, basket, or well and are hidden within it out of sight; and the Djanggawul Brother erects his *rangga* to place it within the *ngainmara*. All these situations, and many more, symbolize the insertion of the Djanggawul Brother's penis in the *ngainmara*, which although really the uterus, may also signify vagina or vulva. The most complete symbolic representation of coitus is the plunging into the ground of the *mauwulan rangga* forming a well, with gushing water (that is, penis insertion/vagina/ejaculation/withdrawal). The rising water flooding the countryside signifies fertilization.

In the second case, the same elements are employed, but their significance is altered: the *ngainmara* (like its various associated forms) is solely the uterus, and the *rangga* and feathered strings are children (people or *rangga* folk). This seems, indeed, to be their most important manifestation. It is expressed in a number of obvious situations which have been indicated throughout this work. For example, *rangga* emblems and feathered strings are removed from the mouth of the *ngainmara* mat (shade, basket or well); the *ngainmara* is heavy, being full of *rangga* people; fish, which are declared totemic, are caught in fish traps (constructed from *rangga* poles); and fish escape from the mouth of the whale, or are swallowed when brought in by the rising tide. The ideal symbolic representation is the *ngainmara* mat full of *rangga*, which are later removed (that is, uterus/pregnancy/delivery of *rangga* folk).

These two correlated themes, then, are basic to the cycle; together, they centre about one of the fundamental drives of mankind. The need for sexual satisfaction is simply and symbolically expressed, with a complete absence of consciously erotic manifestations; following this come pregnancy and, eventually, childbirth. The

importance of physiological paternity has not, moreover, been left 533
a vague issue. The complementary rôles of male and female are 539
established traditionally, both symbolically and (to a lesser degree) 831
directly.

In addition to these, and in varying degrees linked with them, there are a number of subsidiary threads. There are four predominating themes, all in some degree interrelated, and almost invariably used in conjunction with the *ngainmara-rangga* concept. The first is crystallized in the umbilical cord, which is symbolically manifested in a variety of forms, the most important being the elongated clitorises of the Two Djanggawul Sisters, the long penis of the Brother, the prepuce, rays from the Morning Star, rays from the setting sun, feathered strings, and so on. Various examples are found in the Songs: the Djanggawul Brother cuts his long penis, after he and his companions have stolen the sacred basket and *rangga* from the Sisters; he shortens his Sisters' clitorises after the theft, when he and his companions have taken over control of the *nara*; and feathered strings removed from the *ngainmara* are arranged on the surface of the ground. The ideal illustration of the theme is as follows: *rangga* folk have their foreskins cut immediately after they have issued from the *ngainmara*-uterus, the foreskin symbolizing the umbilical cord, and its cutting their severance from the Mother; this is the intent of circumcisional initiation, with its subsequent 'rebirth'.

The second theme is connected with the sun. This element is 533
symbolically manifested in several ways, the most obvious being: 539
rays of light from the setting sun; the red reflections from the sunset, caught on the breast feathers of the *lindaridj* parakeet; the feathered *rangga* strings, the sacred basket pendants and the hair string waistband intertwined with red feathers; the parakeet itself, with breast and throat feathers; fire; blood (flowing after birth, at menstruation, or as a result of the Djanggawul Brother's breaking the arm-band blockage in the younger Sister's vagina); red ochre; and the red walls of the vagina or labia majora. One of the most strongly emphasized of these is the parakeet, with its red breast feathers, constantly appearing throughout the cycle.

The third theme relates to water, in its fresh or salt manifestations. The pattern is set during the initial stage of the Djanggawul's
journey to the north Australian mainland. The movement of the [823]
sea is brought about (or intensified) through their paddling, and the
presence of fish and marine creatures. This causes the ebb and flow of the tides. When the Djanggawul leave the sea to travel inland, and later along the coast, this theme is continued in the well waters rising and overflowing in conjunction with the tidal fluctuations. Even when the wells predominate, however, the sea

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533 is not forgotten; the original theme is recalled again and again
throughout the cycle. It is the sea, too, which receives much atten-
539 tion in the *nara* rituals (for example, in those performed by *rangga*
folk, mentioned in the cycle). Nevertheless, the importance of the
[778] well waters must not be underestimated. Apart from their associa-
tion with the sea and its tides, they are in their own right spirit
centres; and these are sacred, for the *rangga* emblems have been put
within them or within their mud, and *djuda* have been planted around
them. Moreover, the well is identified with the uterus, with the
ngainmara, and with the sacred *nara* shade.

533 539 831 The fourth theme is concerned with seminal fluid, which is symbolized by the foam of the sea, or by rough water surging from an overflowing well. It is this foam which splashes on to the *rangga* emblems and *ngainmara* mat during the Djanggawul's journey from Bralgu, staining not only these objects and the feathered strings, but also the long clitorises and penis, and leaving on them a distinctive 'sea smell'. References are made throughout the cycle to the drying of the feathered strings of the *rangga*, and of the baskets.

533 539 These elements then, with the *ngainmara* and *rangga*, provide the skeletal structure or framework of the cycle, upon which the various situations have been constructed and elaborated.

Apart from the purely human element, reflected in the removal of *rangga* folk who serve as a nucleus from which has grown the present Aboriginal population, the cycle is concerned, in its wider implication, with the universe about them. The Djanggawul are said to 'make country' as they travel. We have seen however, from both the Myth and the Songs, that the country as such was already there on their arrival. Where the Songs describe their 'making country', therefore, we must assume that they merely put additional physiographical features. They made the sacred sandhill at the Place of the Mauwulan, which is symbolically represented in every *nara* to-day; they made innumerable wells, both sacred and secular, and planted multitudes of trees; and from their *rangga* and feathered strings birds, reptiles, animals and vegetables (yams) came into being, or became totemic. The Morning Star was sent for them by the Spirit people at Bralgu, to guide them through the sea to Port Bradshaw. And the sun came up for them, driving away the darkness and lighting up the land, sending its glowing rays in every direction, and warming all it touched.

533 539 831 Apart too from the matter of human fetility, the cycle concerns the fructification of the land, symbolized in the fluctuating tides of the sea, and the rising well waters. The plunging into the ground of the *mauwulan rangga*, with water gushing forth at its withdrawal, does not represent human sexual intercourse alone; symbolic coitus

is taking place with the earth, so that it will be fertilized. The well 533
water overflows and spreads across the land; the incoming tides 539
push up the shallow tidal creeks and cover the low coastal plains: 831
all symbolize the fertilization of the land. New vegetation will
grow; the dormant grass and plants will send out their shoots; trees will bear leaves, blossoms and fruit; and the natural species will increase. The *djuda rangga* carried by the Djanggawul are always 'planted' near well waters, and their roots are said to be like penes that fertilize the earth. Billowing clouds from the north-west beckon the Djanggawul onwards, as they move from place to place; and the intensity of the sun's heat scorches the grass, making the shadows of the clouds welcome and desirable, and drying the moistened *rangga*. All this symbolizes the coming monsoonal rains, which will replenish the earth, renew all plant and vegetable matter and the natural species. Further, it indicates man's place in the universe, emphasizing the fundamental similarity between himself and his environment. The sexual drive in man results in the increase of his own species, just as he sees to be the case among the living creatures around him: and that basic theme is extended and elaborated to include his whole physical environment. According to this point of view, the earth itself must, therefore, be fertilized in much the same way as man—through symbolic coitus, the plunging *mauwulan*, the piercing *djuda* roots, the flooding well, and the spreading incoming tide. All this to the Aborigine of north-eastern and north-central Arnhem Land, living as he does in close proximity to his environment, is real and vital. It constitutes for him a faith which is based essentially on his own experience, on a fundamental human and animal drive, projected on to his non-human and (as *we* see it) inanimate environment.

The Djanggawul myth and its songs, then, may be regarded as 533
centring on the two primary drives of man: the first, sex, with
its natural consequences, the second, food, which enables him to 539
survive. Both are of equal importance, and both receive considera- 831
tion in this cycle. The dominating interest however is that of sex, in a broader sense than this is usually understood in our own society; the Aboriginal thesis is that through the operation of this drive seasonal fluctuations will occur, and will automatically ensure the provision of food. From the Aboriginal standpoint, then, man's survival is essentially dependant on the success of the sexual drive: for food cannot become available unless the natural species copulate and increase, unless the rains fall, the wells overflow and the tides spread and fertilize the land. This attitude to them is fundamental, and for that reason it has become an outstanding theme in the sacred Djanggawul cycle.

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533 539 831 These factors obviously centre about the survival of the Aboriginal social group, and in that respect they suggest an important sociological attitude. The Djanggawul Sisters, through their perpetual pregnancy, and their ability to produce great numbers of *rangga* folk, the ancestors of the present-day Aborigines, express their true function as Fertility Mothers. They define the physical differences between males and females, between the *rangga* and the mat; expressing this symbolically, they put the *rangga* boys who emerge from their wombs into the coarse grass, the *rangga* girls into the shelter of the *ngainmara*-uterus mat. By stressing the sacredness of womankind, this Aboriginal culture has enshrined motherhood, for it is realized that the continuity of the group is dependent primarily, and in a more spectacular way, on the female. To ensure this fertility, however, 'that the *rangga* within the *ngainmara* may remain plentiful', the contribution of the virile male is essential. The myth, therefore, acknowledges both physiological paternity and maternity. The *rangga* is as sacred as the *ngainmara*; and insemination (symbolically expressed in a variety of forms) is a biological necessity in the fertility sequence of coitus, conception, pregnancy and childbirth.

533 539 462 Two other important features receive attention in this cycle. The first, and perhaps the more important from a sociological point of view, is the division of labour between the sexes. The Djanggawul Sisters lose their sacred basket or dilly bag and *rangga* emblems, and the men take over control of the *nara* ritual. Now the Sisters must grind the cycad nut to make 'bread'; their 'hands must be whitened with its flour'. This mythological incident indicates, symbolically, the present division of activities between the sexes. It is not a question of any alteration in woman's status: [562] she is not subordinated, or relegated to an 'inferior' position. On the contrary, stress is placed on the complementary nature of their activities. Woman must not resemble man, any more than man may resemble woman, the essential nature and implications of each (apart from biological factors) being culturally determined; hence the clitoris of each Sister is cut, so that it may not resemble a man's penis. Man may not be idle, merely collecting and preparing food while woman performs all sacred ritual, possesses all the *rangga* emblems and in addition carries out her important task of producing children. If women are to ensure the continuity of the group through childbearing, then men must perform the sacred ritual and do the more strenuous work; for this reason, so we are told, the men stole from the Sisters the sacred basket and *rangga* and took charge of the *nara* ritual. 533

539 The second feature is the institution of the sacred *nara* ritual,

which is created by the Djanggawul themselves. The *rangga* folk dance from the wombs of their Mothers into the *nara* shade; the sacred clapping sticks are beaten, the songs rhymically sung, and they sway their bodies in the dance. The first *nara* is being performed, re-enacting the travels of the divine Beings; and the *rangga* folk have been produced 'so that they may follow the law'. The people, that is to say, by performing the *nara*, by re-enacting the travels of the Djanggawul and manipulating the *rangga* emblems, ensure the continuation of the life they know and love. The *nara* performed by the *rangga* folk under the direction of the Djanggawul is described as being exactly the same as that carried out by present-day Aborigines. It expresses the faith which they have in their social group, in their culture, and in their environment; it ensures the continuance of all the elements expressed directly and symbolically in the myth and in the Songs. Women will continue to bear children, the seasons will continue to come and go in ordered sequence, and the land will continue to produce food in abundance. All this will come about only if the *nara* is enacted, if the power of the Sacred Beings is made available, and if the faith of the people themselves—both men and women—retains the intensity and depth originally inspired by the Djanggawul. 533 539

The implications of the Djanggawul cult are numerous, and should be the subject of detailed and comprehensive treatment. Here, however, we can touch on them only briefly. 794 182

There is, for instance, the assumption that these Beings came from another country, somewhere to the east or north-east, bringing with them their sacred objects and ritual, and the essentials of their cult. That is, they were originally aliens, who presumably introduced their ideology to the indigenous inhabitants. The latter are here referred to vaguely as spirits, and not as human beings; this is, possibly, a form of rationalization, to the effect that the first 'real' people were those who adopted the Djanggawul cult.

Then there are what may be termed the various psycho-analytic points of view. Followers of Géza Roheim, for example, may see in the stress on the Mother, and (for instance) the identification of circumcision with the severing of the umbilical cord, a manifestation of the universal Oedipus Complex. Abram Kardiner and his school may find in the Djanggawul a projection of the emotions arising from the Aborigines' response towards their own parents during their early formative years. Moreover, the myth and songs may perhaps be regarded as, primarily, an expression of the fundamental motivations of the people, the narrative itself serving merely as a connecting thread, which provides a semblance of coherence.

173 But it is in the realm of the great song cycles and the stories
538 which survive that a colourful picture of Malayan and Macassan
life on these shores is unfolded.

At various sites on the north-east and south-east coast of
175 Arnhem Land, at Arnhem Bay, Melville Bay, Port Bradshaw,
Trial Bay, Caledon Bay and Groote Eylandt, these Indonesians
of different types (not all true Macassan or Malay traders)
founded their settlements. They built their houses on stilts,
roofed them with woven leaves and fibre of coconut palm and
even furnished them in an elementary way. They kept fowls,[2]
fastened by one leg to the posts of the huts. Nearby they erected
large boilers, and racks for drying the trepang, and out in the
bays their ships were lying at anchor or being repaired. Each
main settlement was a hive of industry, with Macassans and Australian
Aborigines employed as labourers for specified payments.
There were bartering depôts. Local natives brought in pearls,
[439] tortoise-shell and other natural products that the Indonesians
wanted, and were given in exchange East Indies currency, introduced
foods such as rice and sweetmeats, or cloth, knives and
tobacco. This trade was well established and its influences are
still apparent today.[3]

The visitors not only brought goods from their own country.
While they were settled on the mainland they manufactured pottery,
knives, cloth and sails, and they kept written accounts of
their transactions with the Aborigines and with their own employees.
The effects of their sojourn are seen in some forms of
177 the local material culture. They introduced the dug-out canoe,
[501] which has almost replaced the indigenous bark variety, and it
326 was from them that the natives learned to use steel in making
knives, spear blades and tomahawks.

But it seems to have been in their diversions and entertainments,
or in their ceremonies, that the Indonesians exerted their
greatest influence on Aboriginal life. Watching them, the Aborigines
[524] learnt to play cards,[4] and began to adapt their song rhythms
533 to alien tunes and the sounds of foreign musical instruments.
Their mortuary ceremonies came to be associated with the de-
[764] parture of the praus, and with Macassan burial rites.[5] The important
secular ceremony of the carved *wuramu* figure, the

some. I thought to myself, "I'll talk a little Macassar to them, and I'll run away from these white men and go back home." I felt very sorry I had left it. I was afraid maybe that these white men would take me some place and kill me. Then I thought, "No, they won't." I was afraid. I don't know why now. 159

I hunted for some people, but I didn't find any. I came back from the bush singing a mourning song (pages 413-415). It said how sorry I was and how unhappy, and it is the song we sing when people are dead or when they have gone away and we want them to come back. I got on the boat and went on with these people, for I could not stay by myself. We went on past Cape Don, but there was no lighthouse there then. We went to Port Darwin, where I found many tribes. They had not all died. They were most of them alive then. [533]

We stayed there a little while and came back to the country of Cape Don Tommy. I was still very young and I had no beard and no pubic hair when we arrived there. I stayed there two rains. When I left I had both pubic hair and a beard. When I came there I did not know their language. When I went away I spoke it. One night one of their women made a large bark hut and fixed a fire in front of it and put paper bark on the ground to lie on. She told me I could go inside. I went inside, thinking there would be another boy with me.

When I went into that hut that woman crawled on top of me and put her legs around mine so I couldn't move. I was still young. I did not know what she wanted. I thought she was holding my legs that way and someone would come up and spear me. I could not talk her language and she did not understand Macassar. The girl was young and had young breasts on her like this [he cupped his hands over his nipples]. I wriggled loose from her and ran outside. I found Cape Don Tommy, I said to him, "What does that woman want?"

That girl was his half-daughter. He said, "I think she wants you for a sweetheart."

I said, "I don't like that. In my country we don't make sweethearts that way. We don't make sweethearts before everyone in the middle of the camp. Boys and girls sneak away from the camp and do it there so that the old people can't see us and we won't be ashamed." [836]

He said, "Don't be afraid of her husband. He won't fight you. That is a custom here. He is away now. When he comes back you give him presents, and he will know that you belong to another country, and that our people took you from there, and we must see that you have a sweetheart just as we must see that you have plenty of food."

I slept, though, with the other boys that night. Next morning I was sit-

only did he identify the killers by relationship signs, but said 202
that only one body had been recovered and that the killers had escaped to their own country near Arnhem Bay.

Undoubtedly this sign-language has been used in silently 201
planning and directing well-organized attacks that be- [721]
wildered marauding traders and took police parties by surprise. Attempts have been made to prove that messages [202]
have been tapped out on musical clapsticks, but clapsticks [533]
are used only for a limited number of timings in songs. Full details and the signal for attack have been given unobtrusively in sign-language by merely flicking the hands.

Just as the spoken language is a living one, so the sign- 201
language is being extended to include developments from 177
contact with foreigners. Reference to police is made by placing the wrists side by side and holding them in front to suggest handcuffs. Macassar proas and sailing-boats are indicated by stretching an arm forward, clenching the hand, and raising the thumb for a mast; a boat captain by closing the hands, as on a wheel, and swaying from the hips as when heaving on a helm. A white man's sign is in bending the elbows, sweeping the hands to the breasts and then downwards and outwards; his gun in bending the head to the right, squinting along an imaginary barrel held in the left hand, and drawing the right trigger hand backwards. Wiping a crooked forefinger along the lips refers to tobacco; cattle or tinned meat are denoted by placing a closed hand on either temple and extending the forefingers to look like horns.

I took Burramurra to Darwin for medical attention, and after a few days' treatment I brought him from hospital. He attracted some attention by his awkward gait, and another nomad waved his hands and looked questioningly toward us, till Burramurra answered him with laughter and further hand movements. He told me he had just been asked if he had been drinking whisky and where had he got it?

one end with bark. A hole is made in the side of the tube 276
for a piece of curved tin or a thimble to hold the tobacco.
Birds, animals, or men are sometimes carved or painted [532]
on the stem. As a special favour a man will promise a
pipe to a friend when it is worn out, and after months of [431]
constant use, when the pipe is saturated with nicotine, the presentation is made. The recipient proceeds to crush the frail tube and scrape its interior for the handful of nicotine shavings; other men gather, a pipe is filled with the moist shavings, and with a coal on top it is passed from one to another. It is customary to draw only once or twice, and everyone fills his lungs with smoke, holds it as long as possible and reluctantly exhales. The mixture is so strong that a whiff of it will cause coughing and the eyes to water.

Clap-sticks and drone-pipes, or 'didjery-doos', are the 534
only musical instruments known to Stone Age men. Drone-pipes are hollow tree-trunks, about four feet long and three inches in diameter, which have been eaten out by white ants. Men blow through them, and the low drumming sound can be heard from camps at night as the people join in the camp-songs. Clap-sticks, or short pieces of hardwood, are beaten together, and make a noise sometimes like the rat-a-tat of a
kettle-drum. Nomads are musically inclined; they will sing 533•
from dusk till midnight for pleasure, and also in times of [765]
sorrow. Myths are transmitted and thoughts are expressed in song. Apart from songs with refrains, well-known theme-songs relate to Yulengor themselves, to camp-sites, sharks, the sea, rain, and canoes loaded with fish.

A 'camp-site' song has words and phrases fitted into the timing according to the fancy of the leader, and is interspersed by humming or the repetition of euphonious phrases. A song might go something like this:

'Coming to a camp' . . . 'men recline and await the women'
'Yanja, Wilama, Wirrwa', etc. (favoured camp-site names)

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● 533 'Footprints around the camp' . . . 'they soon wear a track'
'. . . . . . ' (many names for 'track' inserted here)
'. . . . . . ' (any pleasing words or phrases repeated)

Sometimes, when the drone-pipe and clap-sticks are finished, the soloist repeats a phrase and continues unaccompanied till he ends his effort with a flourish on a falsetto monotone. Method and treatment in each theme-song are left to the imagination of the soloist, and apart from two or three phrases, the song is of disconnected but suggestive key-words which may be changed each time the song is sung.

As the leader sings, he beats his clap-sticks for the timing of the song, and since each song has its own particular 'timing' others join in with clap-sticks without disturbing the rhythm. The drone-pipe, with its continuous drumming between two low notes, is known elsewhere in Australia by the appropriate name of 'didjery-doo', and if you repeat this name several times in a low monotone you will produce a fairly good imitation of the celebrated drone-pipe.

sticks were pulled out and thrown on the heap to deter 765
inquisitive dingoes.

Meantime the grandfather sang songs appropriate to the 765
departing spirit, the most important being the plover song. 533●
A plover is a spirit from Buralkor disguised with feathers so 825
that mortals may see it, and its purpose is to guide human [775]
spirits on their way to the spirit world. Native-companions,
geese, jungle fowls, and cockatoos are similarly revered by
the Yiritja moiety, except that they have no qualms about
eating them. Moreover, these are genuine birds and not
visible spirits like the plover. Their importance lies in their
supernatural ability to see spirits and to assist them.

As the grandfather sang the bird-songs, his sons accompanied 765
him with clap-sticks and women danced and 535
made the bird-signs. For the plover they held their hands 201
in front of their shoulders with the fingers half clenched 825
like talons; this gesture is also used ordinarily in their
sign-language to indicate death, a corpse, or wandering
ghost. Geese were introduced by imitating their cries and
by holding short sticks between the hands for bird-perches.
Long-winged native-companions could not be mistaken
when the dancers extended their arms and flapped them.
At the end of the ceremony a tribal-mother carried the bones 765
to her camp and deposited them in the fork of a tree; in
bush-camps such parcels can be seen in trees or in forked
sticks. Skulls are of more importance and are painted and
hoarded for as long as ten years.

It is usual to expose infants and to bury older children and [765]
adults, though no particular significance is attached to either
method and both are preliminaries to the collecting of the
skeleton. A corpse is buried in a shallow grave face downwards
to facilitate the removal of the bones by lifting the [764]
backbone to which the greater part of the skeleton is attached.
Bones may be collected in four or five days, a week
or several months after burial, depending on the regard the

361 mainland to hunt for turtle eggs, the island is deserted.

I saw hordes behind Boucaut Bay practising a form of
266 cannibalism and eating their dead. A wealth of tradition
773 lies behind this custom, which originated with the eating of
[764] their tribal Ancestress. This prehistoric giantess came from
the west and finished her labours at Boucaut Bay, where she
made a plain and a swamp full of vegetable food and fish.
Near by she bore children and established the local hordes.
Many years later the Goddess died and left the horde the
problem of disposing of her body. She had been an active
Goddess, and the hordes had depended on her, and now,
as they had no desire to lose the prestige she had given them,
they retained her strength by eating her body.

The precedent of the Goddess is advanced as the reason
for continuing the custom of eating dead relatives and
enemies killed in battle. All hair is scraped off and burnt,
266 intestines are removed and buried, and the head is severed
764 from the trunk. Meanwhile relatives prepare an oven
[262] by digging a trench, lining it with stones, and lighting
a fire on top. When the tempo of singing and dancing has
increased to fever-pitch, the skull is pierced and the brain
removed, wrapped in bark, and given to the mother to
guard. The skull is cooked, separately cleaned, painted,
and hoarded. Removing the bones is a lengthy process and
must be done carefully so as not to sever the limbs. All bones
are exposed in a tree to bleach before being painted and
hoarded till it is convenient to pack them in a burial-post.

When the stones in the trench are hot, the coals are scraped
away, and a relative grasps the hands of the now bone-
less and headless body, drapes it over his shoulders and
dances among the chanting, wailing horde. It is lowered
into the trench-oven, covered with bark and sand and
allowed to cook to the accompaniment of singing and
[533] dancing. Most chants relate to the departing spirit, and in

them the strength of the dead man is urged to enter the 266
bodies of those who have consumed his flesh. 764

Nomads cheerfully admitted that they enjoy the feasts, [533]
but pointed out that aged, deformed, sick, or diseased men
are never eaten. These have no virtue and would weaken
rather than strengthen those participating in the rite.

took place in its own particular territory. Yet the essentials 776
of the story agree to an astonishing extent, considering 773*
that there is no written language and that details must 184
be passed on orally or in ochre-painted pictures. By far
the biggest variation concerns the Junkgowa's sex, for in
the east, where they landed, it is said that they were male
and female, but half-way across the social group it is maintained that they were sisters.

Before leaving the spirit-world the Junkgowa created the 773*
sea so that they could travel in their long-nosed canoe, 533
which was paddled in much the same way as their human
descendants learnt to paddle theirs, and they made light of
their toil by improvising songs. First they sang about their
paddles, and this 'paddle song' is preserved as a chorus in an
important ceremony recording Junkgowa songs and tales of
their deeds. Waves rose for the first time, so they sang about
them, and also about turtle, dugong, sharks, deep sea
fish, and a porpoise that guided them on their way. A seagull that followed the canoe, and at times rested on it, is
also immortalized in song.

But singing alone could not do away with their toil and 773*
fatigue, and the Junkgowa became so hot that they called up 821
the cool south-east monsoon, which rose in the spirit-land,
and has blown steadily for at least five months in every
succeeding year. With the breeze behind them they hoisted
a sail, and after several nights and days they made a landfall.
Near the shore the sea was too rough for safe landing, so the
Junkgowa stopped the wind and thereby introduced the
calm that now follows the south-east monsoon and precedes
the north-west monsoon. Presumably they did not allow for 773*
a treacherous 'ninth' wave that over-turned the canoe, and 778
this incident is authenticated by a long black rock that rose
out of the waves to mark the scene of the accident and to
enshrine the lesser-spirit of the canoe. Yulengor point out
the rock to their sons to this day.

the Junkgowa met the Men with the clap-sticks and learned 773*
that they had come from Murungga Island, one of the
Crocodile Islands. Like old Men previously encountered,
these also claimed to be self-created Junkgowa from the
Murrnggin clan; they had crossed over to Elcho Island
to prevent the female Junkgowa coming to the coast. This
temporary restraint was soon overcome, and the Men called
the Women 'gutara' or brothers' or sisters' grandchildren,
and the Women reciprocated with 'mari' or grandparents'
brothers.

On the first night, the Men brought out their clap-sticks, 773*
and like modern nomads they entertained their visitors with 533●
horde songs. But their timing was so fast, that the visitors [574]
were shocked, and said they would teach them a new song;
thereupon they introduced them to the celebrated Ngara
ceremony. After it was all over the Men conceded that they
had a lot to learn about singing: 'We may be better at
food-gathering, but you Women are our superiors in singing
and totemic lore. We would like to sing your way.' Thus
the old Murrnggin songs lapsed and the Junkgowa ceremonies
were established.

Many songs were sung through the night, and as the Men 773*
began to sing them, a subterranean being, 'Bunar-ka' [776]
(literally a roll of paper-bark), rose out of the sand and
thumped the ground in unison. Bunar-ka is totemically
linked with the rite of circumcision, and the Junkgowa made [881]
the most of the occasion by taking two Murrnggin boys and
initiating them beside the sun-stone. Designs were painted
on the boys, and they were loaded with belts, armlets,
and other brightly coloured decorations still used in
circumcision ceremonies. They sang and danced the usual
preliminaries, and then chipped a sharp flake from the
sun-stone with which to perform the operation. As it neared
completion, the youths sank into the sand, and later came
up some distance offshore, leaving an outcrop of rock to